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ABSTRACT

This book consists of 17 essays concerning the history of the Anglican church and its missions in western Canada. Essays examine the social and political role of the Anglican church, its influence among Native and non-Native populations, its effects on educational development, and the status of women in the church. Chapters 6, 8, 9, and 14 are specifically education-related. The introductory essay examines ways in which the mainstream, secular study of Canadian history has touched on church and religious history. Individual essays are as follows: (1) "The Church of England and the Canadian West" (L. G. Thomas); (2) "'Insidious' Sources and the Historic Interpretation of the Pre-1870 West" (Frits Pannekoek); (3) "Anglican Archives in Rupert's Land" (Wilma MacDonald); (4) "The Public Institution as Church Archivist: Anglican and Other Church Records" (Keith Stotyn); (5) "Anglican Missionaries as Agents of Acculturation: The Church Missionary Society at St. Andrew's, Red River, 1830-1870" (Robert Coutts); (6) "Father Cockran and His Children: Poisonous Pedagogy on the Banks of the Red" (George van der Goes Ladd); (7) "John Smithurst and the Ordination Controversy: Reflections on Red River Society in the 1840s" (F. A. Peake); (8) "Robert Machray and the Foundation of the University of Manitoba in 1877" (F. Wilmot); (9) "The Church of England and the Manitoba School Question" (Lawrence Hackett); (10) "THe Anglican Church in Western James Bay: Positive Influence or Destructive Force?" (John S. Long); (11) "Bishop Bompas and the Canadian Church" (Kerry Abel); (12) "Asking for All Sorts of Favours: The Anglican Church, the Federal Government and the Natives of the Yukon Territory, 1891-1909" (Ken Coates); (13) "The Church of England and the Immigrants in the Dioceses of Qu'Appelle" (Trevor Powell); (14) "The Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Teachers" (Marilyn Barber); (15) "Eva Hasell and the Caravan Mission" (Vera K. Fast); and (16) "The Bishop's Messengers: Women in Ministry in Northwestern Manitoba, 1928-1979" (Alyson Barnett-Cowan). Includes information about contributors and an index. (LP)

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

and the

World of Western Canada

1820-1970

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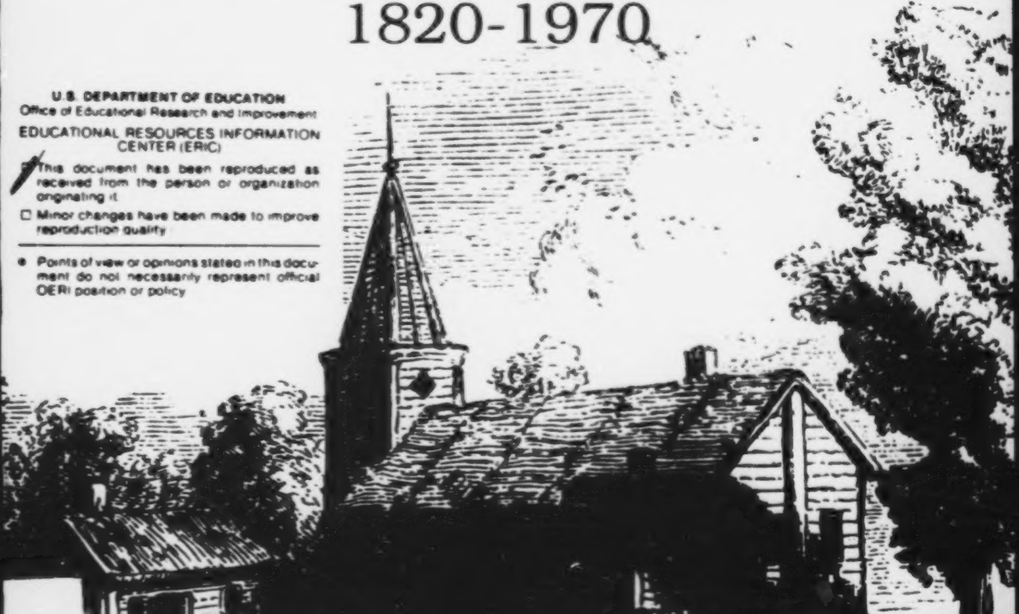

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Edited by Barry Ferguson

The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970

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Canadian Plains Research Center
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Barry Ferguson
St. John's College
July 1991

1

Secular History and Church History: An Introduction

Barry Ferguson

Church history is not usually read as part of the canon of Canadian history. Recent surveys of Canadian historical writing indicate only episodic interest in the facets of church history and tend to relegate religion and churches either to the interests of old-fashioned historians or to the distant past. The sparse attention in those surveys faithfully reflects the focus of recent historical writing, with little explicit attention to religious history.[1] Yet this lack of focus also suggests a minor irony about Canadian history and historical writing. Despite the lack of explicit attention to subjects like the role of religion and churches, the topic points to an important implicit theme running through Canadian history and the major problems addressed by historians.[2] Furthermore, the relationship of religious institutions, movements and ideas to political conflict, social protest and cultural identity has been surprisingly important to a great range of Canadian scholarship — literary, sociological and historical.

The essays collected here study the Anglican church and its missions in western Canada. They do so from a position that alters and challenges received scholarly opinion (both among explicitly church historians and decidedly secular historians) about the role of the Anglican church at Red River, within Manitoba society, among the Native and non-Native populations, and over the place of women in the church. These essays constitute a bridge between church and secular history concerning the Anglicans in western Canada. Like several other recent attempts to integrate the history of denominations and religions to Canadian society, this collection aims to explore whether and how the study of religious institutions and ideas can be a more obtrusive theme in the mainstream of secular history.[3] The essays are not offered primarily as a contribution to the internal history of the Anglican church let alone as a work of religious advocacy.

This introductory essay will examine some of the ways in which, in the mainstream, secular study of Canadian history has touched on church and religious history. It will then review the findings and conclusions of the papers in this collection. The history of the Anglican church leads to challenging, significant insights into the general history of western Canada. The major themes — Native/non-Native relations, the social and political place of the church, women in religion — are creative lines in contemporary historical writing that should lead all historians to reconsider both the sources and approaches they take to the social, political and economic development of the west.

If historians have been diffident about the place of religion, sociologists have been assertive. The sociologists have remembered Max Weber, while historians have forgotten R.H. Tawney (and also E.P. Thompson and

Christopher Hill). Attempting to identify the distinctive social goals, institutional forms and cultural identity of Canada, sociologists like S.D. Clark, John Porter and S.M. Lipset, have all pointed to the churches and to religious beliefs as crucial factors. The result has been major contributions to the definition of Canadian society found in its degree of deference to leadership, its subordination of individual rights to collective rights, and its emphasis on social stability rather than economic growth. From another direction, literary critics, especially Northrop Frye, have noted how central religion has been to Canada. Based on his astonishingly complete reading of Canadian literature, Frye has stated that the religious imagination has been a basic influence in shaping Canadian culture and its long standing "doctrinal and evangelical" traits.[4]

Given both the assertiveness of these conclusions and their own shift towards social and cultural questions, historians might be expected to be even more interested than they have been in assessing the actual roles and designs of the churches in Canadian history. Of course some historians have done so and their work has contributed to the very generalizations the sociologists and literary critics have made about churches and religion in Canada. But historical writing has certainly tended to ignore rather than to weigh the place of the churches in Canada's past.

The mainstream of professional Canadian historical writing, at least until twenty years ago, concentrated on the theme of nation building and particularly national political and economic expansion. Yet despite the political bias, national historical writing was suffused with the question of the relations between church and state, framed mostly as conflict about or abhorence over the influence of Anglican and Roman Catholic claimants to the status of state church, with suggestive comments about the claims of Methodism. The influences of the clergy and clerical concepts of the right ordering of society have long been seen as central to the formation of political structures and beliefs, more than to the shaping of popular attitudes and behaviour, in eighteenth and nineteenth century Canada, whether the society be Ontario, Québec or the Maritimes.[5] Moreover, the problem of church influences, above all the differing concepts of the status of religion and clerics in political institutions like the schools, has remained a virtual staple of historical inquiry, recently broadening into studies of the cultures of anti-catholicism in English Canada and the Catholic nationalist design in French Canada and Québec.[6]

Historical writing has shifted dramatically in the past two decades to the study of communities, provinces and regions, and to social, labour and intellectual history. The impact of religious ideas on social and political protest has also been examined in these studies. This has meant a continued emphasis on the ideological and social influence of organized religion in eighteenth and nineteenth century Canada, focussing on the theological, especially Anglican, political and social designs for Nova Scotia and old Ontario, and on the Catholic mission in New France and Québec.[7]

At least until Confederation the place of religion and churches is acknowledged as central, although one assessment of Canadian historical writing in the 1970s concluded that the study of the role of the Catholic church as well as the Protestant churches was remarkably incomplete.[8]

For the post-Confederation period, the work has been more episodic and the place of religion much less clear. Nonetheless twentieth century political history has been challenged by careful studies of the theological inspirations and deviations of such figures as J.S. Woodsworth and Mackenzie King. As yet, however, the impact of these leaders' religious thought and inspiration, or that of party members, has not been examined for the institutions they led, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the Liberal Party of Canada.[9] In contrast, the relationship between religious ideas and early twentieth century nationalist movements has been central to interpretations of Québec nationalism and somewhat more tentatively suggested about English Canadian nationalism.[10] More generally, studies of the role of churches and the varieties of religion stimulate debate but hardly shape interpretation about issues as far removed as Canadian working-class culture, prairie protest and Québec nationalism.[11]

Examples of the mutual relationship between Christian and secular thought and reform are found in some of the most interesting and intensive work of a number of historians writing on late nineteenth and early twentieth century reform in Canada. These works claim that mainstream political reform and state interventionism can be explained and may be reinterpreted by the impact on politics, education, and social reform by theological and quasi-theological movements such as the social gospel, moral reform and Christian idealist thought and even Christian working-class culture (although this latter has only been suggested for Canada unlike, say, Britain).[12] At the very least this work poses a strong challenge to other historians to reassess the role of churches and religious movements, and to include political and social organizations as well as intellectual movements.

In the case of prairie historical work, the traditional focus on political conflict and "regional" protest has also shifted to encompass the pivotal impact of religious movements. Thus recent accounts of Métis and Native land rights and material conditions in the 1880s also examine the theological aspects of the political and social visions of leaders like Louis Riel and Big Bear.[13] Farmers' concerns with wheat marketing and political representation during the progressive period have recently been reinterpreted as a manifestation of the liberal protestant social gospel movement.[14] In both cases, however, the interpretations are controversial and provocative rather than the consensus.

More conventional has been the identification of ties between the protestant culture and protest politics of Alberta under Social Credit and Saskatchewan under the Co-operative Commonwealth movement. The implications of the religious background to Social Credit have been developed over forty years of scholarship while those of the Co-operative Commonwealth have been touched on very little.[15]

Despite the sustained impact of religion on secular institutions and mentalities, as in the debate between science and religion, it cannot be concluded that the place of religious institutions or ideas and their development have been central to historical analysis or that the characteristics of religious movements and ideas have been systematically assessed. Historical writing, certainly as revealed in survey texts and the state-of-the-art reviews mentioned earlier, has tended to note the political symptoms and manifestations of religious questions and has only episodically dealt with the broader social and cultural role of religion in Canada.

From the side of church historians, there has been serious concern that Canadian religious history has been examined only tangentially within the contexts of Canadian society, as opposed to the framework of international Christian, denominational and theological movements. This framework does not diminish the histories and it is certainly explicable given the extra-national bases of religion and the tradition of "ecclesiastical history." But these orientations explain why, despite the amount of research that has been done, church history has hardly been absorbed into the mainstream of Canadian historiography. The result, nonetheless, is that religion and churches have not been adequately considered as a factor in the secular history of Canada. This omission has been critized by several church historians, notably F.A. Peake in his contribution to this collection and elsewhere. The consequences are analyzed by Frits Pannekoek in his survey of pre-1870 prairie historiography for this volume.[16]

In sum, the interrelations between religion and society and the role of churches in Canadian history remain very incompletely studied. The sociologists' conclusions about religion in Canadian society demand critical attention. Similarly, historians' hypotheses about religious inspiration and the religious content of reform challenge historians to expand their grasp of cultural movements and social institutions. On the other hand, church and religious history can no longer be written exclusively for and from the vantage of the devout. The existing tendency to ignore the interplay between religion and society can be no more tolerated than ignorance of church-state relations.

The broad importance of the historical role of the churches, including the Anglican church, and their impact on prairie social history, is argued in the two introductory essays by L.G. Thomas and Frits Pannekoek. Thomas's introduction, "The Church of England and the Canadian West," clearly sets out both the current state of church historiography and outlines the history of the Anglican church within the western Canadian context. Thomas suggests that existing church historical writing has tended to interpret the subject somewhat too narrowly. He also indirectly suggests a similar insularity among secular historians. Thomas introduces such themes as the external sources and dependence of the church and the internal tensions between the Anglican design and the intentions of other social groups. These themes are examined fully in other papers.

In a spirited and critical survey of pre-1870 prairie historical writing, "'Insidious' Sources and the Historical Interpretation of the Pre-1870 West," Frits Pannekoek argues that there has been a remarkable failure, if not refusal, to consider church sources. He shows that the absence of close attention to the various functions and impact of the churches has seriously limited understanding of not only the social structure and social life of communities like Red River but also, echoing S.D. Clark, the economic developments during the shift from the fur trade to agriculture.

Both Thomas and Pannekoek refer to the important archival sources for the inclusion of church materials into mainstream history. The two essays on church archives in the prairies illustrate the problems and the potential of church sources. In her paper "Anglican Archives in Rupert's Land," Wilma MacDonald explains how in the 1980s the sources for the Rupert's Land diocese (the Winnipeg region) were at last put into a form that opens them to researchers. She also describes the sorts of material that are available to researchers. Keith Stotyn's "The Public Institution as Church Archivist: Anglican and Other Church Records" explains the conditions behind and the results of agreements by which the Provincial Archives of Alberta has become the repository for the Anglican church and eight other denominations. Together the papers on archives illustrate the contents of church archives. They lead to the conclusion that the use of church records has been seriously retarded by the inattention or dithering of church officials themselves. The 1986 publication of Wilma MacDonald's survey of Anglican records in Rupert's Land diocese also indicates that these records are open.[17]

The ways in which Red River became the centre of the fur trade and the encounter between Natives and non-Natives constitute a venerable theme in western historiography. The role of the churches in that encounter has been the theme of recent historical work by John Foster and Frits Pannekoek, the former examining the formation of the "mixed blood" community and the latter specifically studying the Anglican clergy during the mid-nineteenth century.[18] A careful review of existing explanations of the factors shaping Red River has led Robert Coutts in "Anglican Missionaries as Agents of Acculturation: The Church Missionary Society at St. Andrew's, Red River, 1830-1870" to study the ways in which one Church of England parish aimed at social transformation. Examining the local influence of an imperialist organization, Coutts argues that the Church of England was indeed an agency of social control over residents of one corner of the empire and suggests that it explicitly aimed at sustaining both a cultural and an economic dominance over the indigenous peoples by its advocacy of religious, political and economic goals for parishioners.

Coutts's critical perspective is sustained in an interdisciplinary study by

George Ladd. "Father Cockran and His Children: Poisonous Pedagogy on the Banks of the Red" tests the impact of Archdeacon William Cockran and his particularly aggressive pedagogical approaches to Native students by using Alice Miller's psychoanalytical theory about the impact of beatings on child raising. Ladd argues that Cockran's approach undermined and intimidated Natives and his work suggests a broader significance to the explicit aggression of nineteenth century missionaries, particularly their impact on the individual as well as on society. The study of Native education has begun recently, but it has not been as explicitly examined for its psychological and physical impact as Ladd's work.[19]

This perspective challenges historians both to consider the psychological impact of missionaries and to assess whether Cockran's views and his personality were typical of the missionaries or not. Certainly, as several of the essays in this collection well illustrate, the missionary churchmen were peculiarly egocentric and aggressive. (So did Bertal Heeney's 1918 collection of biographical studies of ecclesiastical leadership, *Leaders of the Canadian Church*). These accounts of their characteristics as well as their impact on their church and western society challenge the commonly held notion that Canadian paternalism and conservatism were benign and moderate, as does the example of the failed theocratic blueprint of Archdeacon John Strachan in Upper Canada. Several of the western church leaders, Cockran, William Bompas and Eva Hasell most notably, were examples of what United Church clergyman Reverend Stan Mackay has described as "missionaries of aggression."[20]

The relationship between church and state institutions is a venerable theme in Canadian historical writing and the Manitoba example has been central to that theme.[21] Three essays on the public status of the Anglican church during Manitoba's formative period consider this question. F.A. Peake examines "John Smithurst and the Ordination Controversy: Reflections on Red River Society in the 1840s," an early example of the jurisdiction of church authorities and their relationship with civil officials. Despite the strenuous efforts of Smithurst, like Strachan and Bompas, a strong-willed and confrontational cleric, the jurisdiction of the Church of England over key questions of both church governance and the relations between the inhabitants of Red River and the Hudson's Bay Company remained subordinate to the civil officials. Nonetheless the "ordination controversy" shows a church beginning to be caught in the emerging social and ethnic divisions at Red River and, contrary to the cliché of a church always toadying to authority, opposing the authorities and not because of a deluded theocratic vision, either.

Two papers reassess the church's ties with the school system in the late nineteenth century. Laurence Wilmot's "Robert Machray and the Foundation of the University of Manitoba in 1877" carefully revises previous accounts about the origins of the university. Wilmot finds that Anglican Archbishop Machray was the main sponsor and designer of an ecumenical degree-granting university for Manitoba during the 1870s. Maintaining a pluralist approach to higher education, Machray had the opposite of the church-establishment belief that has often been attributed to the Anglicans and that they demonstrated in eastern Canada. Wilmot's essay also reveals the incredible administrative complexity by which religious and secular institutions were governed when Manitoba shifted from imperial to Canadian government.

In "The Church of England and the Manitoba School Question," Christopher Hackett examines the context and policy of the Manitoba Anglican church towards the secularization of public schools during the school question from 1889 to 1896. Hackett has found that the disposition of Anglican laity was so strongly in favour of fully secular rather than confessional schools by the 1890s that church officials rather reluctantly followed their flock to support a secular system. Again, the social consequences that emerge were that Protestant pluralism — although not extending to Roman Catholics — and the separation of church and state had effectively occurred. What John Webster Grant once called "the unofficial establishment of Christianity" in English Canada that existed until the 1960s, was breaking down in its institutional form throughout the last half of the nineteenth century in Manitoba.[22]

The traditional notion of heroic missionaries has been almost totally rejected in the past thirty years. Recent historical interpretations explain missionary activity as a "corrosive" destroying Native culture, similar to the socioeconomic destruction that resulted from non-Native trade and settlement. This approach is argued with great subtlety and conviction — and considerable awareness of the protective tendency of the missionary effort — in John Webster Grant's recent history of missionary-Native relations, a splendid review of attitudes and practices across a broad array of denominations and circumstances.[23] But even as Grant has summarized a generation of study that places the "onset of doubt" about the effects of missionary work in the mid-twentieth century, there have emerged both contemporary examples and historical works that revise the thematic and chronological consensus.

In the contemporary churches, there have emerged a clergy and a theology that, in Latin America and perhaps northern Canada, challenge secular authorities and business interests. Movements like "liberation theology" suggest that the churches can represent a serious alternative to the dominant interests in society. Not coincidentally, recent historical work also leads to revised accounts of missionaries. These studies examine the full roles of the nineteenth century missionaries and the reception of Christianity among Native peoples.

John S. Long contributes a subtle and revisionist account of the contradictory impact of missions, "The Anglican Church in Western James Bay: Positive Influence or Destructive Force?" Long has found that not only were the Native people of the western James Bay not simply passive converts or sullen resisters to missionary work but that they reconciled Christian and Native religious practices and explanations in a remarkable fashion. Using oral and written sources, Long suggests that a syncretic and self-protective set of beliefs resulted from the religious encounter and that fundamental economic changes were also at work changing the bases of the Cree way of life. Recent work on syncretic religion and descriptions of Native religious practices, past and present, by Long and others make this one of the exciting areas of revisionist interdisciplinary and social history.[24]

In "Bishop Bompas and the Canadian Church," Kerry Abel addresses the problem of the missionary impact on the Natives of the Mackenzie by examining the career of Bishop William C. Bompas from 1865 to 1906. Abel looks at the theological and social orientation of the Mackenzie mission in its Canadian and British contexts and considers how Bompas's ruggedly evangelical and ethnocentric theology led him fiercely to oppose the older program of a Native clergy and to provide services intended as tools of assimilation in the face of considerable public and official indifference.

Ken Coates's "Asking for All Sorts of Favours: The Anglican Church, the Federal Government and the Natives of the Yukon Territory, 1891-1909" shows that Anglican clerics tried to get Canadian government assistance for Native education and conducted negotiations with British and Canadian officials between 1907 and 1909 for a land claims settlement. The church abandoned this goal in favour of government assistance more immediately beneficial to its work if not to Natives. The land claims issue dragged on until a 1988 settlement.

The essays by Abel and Coates show that the Anglican church aimed at a revolutionary restructuring of the Native peoples but also worked on their behalf, albeit on a paternalistic and self-interested basis. As a result of church efforts to ease the political, economic and sociological impact of colonization, the churchmen were not popular with Canadian administrators and politicians. Bompas in particular earned a bad reputation. Anglicans thus began a shift towards advocacy that after World War II has become central to the role of the churches in the north.

One source of this shift in the church may be found in the social status of the clergy. Business, law, and scholarship all demonstrated an increasing exclusivity of training and authority in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in liberal capitalist nations like Canada. This characteristic of "professionalization" sustained the authority and status of those occupations and served, not incidentally, to seriously limit the role of women in society at the very time that female political equality was granted. In contrast, the late Victorian clergy, one recent British study has found, became more open to non-middle-class candidates and less assured of its authority and status during the period when other middle-class occupations became more the preserve of the middle class and claimed more authority over society.[25] Several essays in this collection echo L.G. Thomas's point that the missionary church was particularly open to working class and lower middle-class candidates, including a number of Scotsmen, whose own experience with religious pluralism may have resulted in greater tolerance of other denominations in the west than was the case for the clergy in eastern Canada. This openness extended to the search for a Native clergy at least until the triumph of a revisionist "scientific" ethnocentrism in the late Victorian period.

The impact of theological movements on its missionary work is demonstrated in Trevor Powell's study of late nineteenth century church in southern Saskatchewan. Powell argues that strongly Tractarian bishops of Qu'Appelle tried to follow a practice of religious integration rather than cultural assimilation. But he notes that the Anglo-Catholic strategy faded and the church seemed unsure about how to deal with the non-British settlers by the turn of the twentieth century.

The hesitancy and experimentalism of the Anglican church is demonstrated in the essays that examine twentieth century missionary work. The church's peculiar openness led it to turn to recruit female missionaries as it moved to a more cultural assimilationist approach to missions. Three essays examine social, cultural and theological aspects of this recruitment. Marilyn Barber's "The Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Teachers" considers how the Anglican church worked to sustain cultural and religious ties between England and Saskatchewan during the 1910s and 1920s. Reflecting a mixture of Anglo-Saxon superiority, if not racism, and evangelical commitment (did the latter negate the former?), the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf somewhat reluctantly turned to female teachers to assist the public school officials in keeping schools open in rural areas, especially ones newly settled by Europeans. The program of importing teachers stopped by the end of the 1920s because Saskatchewan settlers and officials decided that non-Canadian teachers were neither appropriate nor needed, again showing that the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf's denominational and English ethnic bias were not compatible with mainstream public goals. Partly based on extensive interviews, Barber's work is a study of the failed strategy of the Anglican church and a lively example of contemporary research on the social role of education on the prairies and the debate about Canada's cultural relations with Great Britain after World War I.[26]

Vera K. Fast's "Eva Hasell and the Caravan Mission" also examines an experiment in Anglican evangelical work in the settlement period. Fast shows how women's religious vocations evolved within the constrained role of the church through an exclusively female culture, one that sustained a highly ethnocentric and conservative set of social as well as religious values. The mainstay of the caravan missions, Eva Hasell, was much like her historical contemporary Charlotte Whitton in relying on a female domestic partner to sustain her and in espousing a highly conservative social outlook that offered no program to alter the fundamental status of women.[27]

A contrasting group, "The Bishop's Messengers: Women in Ministry in

Northwestern Manitoba, (1928-79)," is examined by Alyson Barnett-Cowan. This organization evolved into a source for transforming women's roles. As missionaries the messengers dealt with frontier communities and shifted from an initial attention to English settlers towards Europeans, Métis and Natives. Unlike the lay workers of the caravan missions, the bishop's messengers were subject to the discipline of a religious order. The order's discipline and communality and two traits of the 1960s — the decline of the educational missionary role and what Barnett-Cowan calls the "restlessness of the period" — led to major changes. The messengers evolved into the diaconate and participated in the 1970s debate about female ordination. In all these ways then, the messengers did not remain the servants of the empire but became rooted in the secular and religious concerns of the west.

The papers in this collection lead to two broad conclusions about both western Canadian history and the role of the Anglican church in that history.

First, the essays confirm that the Anglican church was a bearer of British culture and a subagent of the imperial mission in the west in several peculiar ways. This role was no less but really no more than that of other Protestant denominations. The church could never, at least after the 1840s, pretend to the status of an established church and it appears to have come to terms with this limitation without much anguish. In fact, even the "Britishness" of the church, an undoubted characteristic of many clergy at least, was as much the result of its continued inability to recruit among or derive financial support from the Canadian church as anything else. That is an irony that several of the papers reveal but without much comment. Still, a church of "catholic" structure and goals was committed to an international clergy and communion. Nonetheless a recent study of Anglican leadership argues for a process of Canadianization. As measured by the careers of churchmen and the selection of bishops and metropolitans, this process began in the 1860s, accelerated in the 1890s and was complete by the 1950s. This pattern is contrary to the Australian and New Zealand cases and, more important perhaps, contrary to sociological assertions that Canadian Anglicanism remained "British" until the 1960s.[28]

Second, the papers show that church missions and parishes not only aimed to transform their parishioners but also to assist their adaptation and even defend them against civil institutions and secular forces. However much this facet of the church was based on self-interest as well as theological conviction, it must be acknowledged by historians. This suggests that the church was, despite Ladd's Cockran, actively defending Native peoples and settlers. Nonetheless, missionaries of aggression like Cockran and Bompas also intimidated their flocks and undermined their own church's authority by their program of cultural imperialism. This ambiguous legacy is still being absorbed by society and scholars.

There still remains much to explore. First, the social roles of the church, especially in the contemporary world, require serious attention.[29] The ordination of women, church teachings about economic questions, and matters of medical ethics are all subjects where religious thought and perspective overlap with secular accounts despite the strenuous efforts of the latter to deny it. If much exciting work on church missions, above all its relations with Native peoples, has begun, the post-1945 role of the churches, when the Anglicans have been among the most radical of the allies of Natives and Inuit, remains to be examined. Similarly the results of church educational work, notably in the residential schools and the Native clergy movement, await historical work based on the rich archival sources available.[30] Church membership, closely studied by sociologists in the contemporary period, has not been carried out for the past and the putative status of the Anglican church as Canadian upper middle-class conservatives at prayer has not been studied.[31]

The cultural teachings of the Anglican church raise a second point. The theological underpinnings of Anglican activity remain the preserve, and a somewhat obscure one if the evidence of obvious historical sources — the churchmen — is consulted. The value of work on the intellectual history of the church is shown in some of the papers in this volume. But any contemporary historian could point to any number of works in intellectual and social history in any number of fields that derive much of their novelty from their examination of theological questions. In fact some of the most insightful work of Canadian intellectual history has been done in that area.[32] But much remains to be done. For instance, doctrinal debates about and implications of the interplay between Native and Christian theologies constitute exciting areas for interdisciplinary historical study, particularly the impact of the missionary encounters to the revision of Christian claims to theological primacy. Finally, the intriguing question of how religious beliefs have permeated society has only been started. If the lessons from sociology and literature as well as British and American historiography are relevent, the work of intellectual and labour historians in examining Canadian popular culture will lead to considerable emphasis on the place of religious belief and its roles in society.

All of this is to say that the mutual insularity of religious and secular historical work are not intellectually defensible for western Canada or anywhere else. Both "insidious sources" and the roles of religion can now be part of the multitude of identities examined in Canadian historical writing.

NOTES

Without implicating them in the contents of this essay, I thank E.M. Kinnear and A.M.C. Waterman, St. John's College, University of Manitoba, and Kerry Abel, Carleton University, who have read this paper and offered valuable comments.

1. See Carl Berger, *Contemporary Approaches to Canadian History* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1987) and Terry Crowley, *Clio's Craft: A Primer of Historical Methods* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988).

Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986), 293, notes "the relative neglect of religion in history", while Serge Gagnon, *Quebec and its Historians* (1982; Montréal, Harvest House, 1985) identifies emphasis on religion and the church with generations of historians up to World War II.

2. N.K. Clifford, "Religion and the Development of Canadian Society: An Historiographical Analysis," *Church History* 38, no. 4 (1969): 506-23; Glenn Lucas, "Canadian Protestant Church History to 1973," *The Bulletin* 23 (1974): 5-50.

   Lucas and Clifford both noted that there was no paucity of work on church history and suggested that church history tended to be denominational and inwardly focussed rather than related to broader history. Although Rev. Lucas did point out that the first twentieth century survey of Canadian history, the twenty-three volume *Canada and its Provinces* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook, 1914-1917), devoted one entire volume to church history, he was too polite to comment on the lack of integration of religious or church history on the part of contemporary mainstream history, for instance as reflected in the execution of the "Centenary Series" of nineteen volumes.

   The *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* has been publishing for more than thirty years. Its work, if a little inward looking in its early days, has suffered from readers' neglect rather than authorial narrowness. Its editors have included professional historians like F.A. Peake, D.M. Schurman, L.G. Thomas and Elwood Jones.

3. Peter Slater, ed., *Religion and Culture in Canada* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University, 1977); William Westfall et al., eds., *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies* (Toronto and Montréal: The Association for Canadian Studies, 1985); Dennis L. Butcher et al., eds., *Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985); Barry Moody, "Religious History: The State of the Craft in the Maritime Provinces," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 25, no. 2 (1983). Recent surveys of Anglicanism are: F.A. Peake, "From the Red River to the Arctic," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 31, no. 2 (1989): 1-169, and H. Roper, "The Anglican Episcopate in Canada: An Historical Perspective," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 57, no. 3 (1988): 255-71.

4. S.M. Lipset, "Historical Traditions and National Characteristics: A Comparative Analysis of Canada and the United States," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 11, no. 2 (1986): 119, and "Revolution and Counter-Revolution: the United States and Canada," in Thomas R. Ford. ed., *The Revolutionary Theme in Contemporary America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), 44-47; John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 511-19; S.D. Clark, "The Religious Influence in Canadian Society," in *The Developing Canadian Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 167-82, and *Movements of Political Protest in Canada 1640-1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959) and *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948); Northrop Frye, "Conclusion to a Literary History of Canada" in *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto: Anansi, 1971), 227-28 and *Divisions on a Ground: Essays on Canadian Culture* (Toronto: Anansi, 1982), 18, 67.

5. J.B. Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia* (1937; Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969); A.R.M. Lower, *Colony to Nation* (Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1946) and many of his essays; Mason Wade, *The French Canadians: 1760-1967*, 2 vols. (1943; Toronto: Macmillan, 1968).

6. Craig Brown, ed., *Minorities, Schools and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 66, no. 4 (1986): 474-94 and his *Equal Rights: The Jesuit Estates Act Controversy* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979); Joseph Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and the Golden Calf: The Social Programme of the Nationalists of Quebec 1900-1914* (Ottawa: Les éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa,

1973); Susan Trofimenkoff, *Action Française: French Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975).

7. In addition to references in note 6 see J.M. Bumsted, *Henry Alline* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); Gordon Stewart and George Rawlyk, *A People Highly Favoured of God: the Nova Scotia Yankees and the American Revolution* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974); C.J. Jaenen, *The Role of the Church in New France* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976); F. Ouellet, *Lower Canada 1791-1840* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), a work that diminishes the role of the clergy even as it carefully examines it; S.F. Wise, "God's Peculiar Peoples," in W.L. Morton, ed., *The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), and "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition," in *Profiles of a Province: Studies in the History of Ontario* (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967); J.L.H. Henderson, *John Strachan* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); Curtis Fahey, "A Troubled Zion: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada" (Ph.D. dissertation, Carleton University, 1981), published as *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854* (Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1990); William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).
8. H.J. Hanham, "Canadian History in the 1970s," *Canadian Historical Review* 58, no. 1 (1977): 13-6, 18-9.
9. Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 197-223 and Kenneth McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959) are particularly strong on the theological bases of King and Woodsworth. See also Allen Mills, *Fool for Christ* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

   In comparison the following works ignore the importance of religious thought to Woodsworth and King and to their political parties' positions: Michiel Horn, *The League for Social Reconstruction: Intellectual Origins of the Democratic Left in Canada 1930-1942* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); Walter Young, *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF 1932-61* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); Joy Esberey, *Knight of the Holy Spirit: A Study of William Lyon Mackenzie King* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980) and Paul Craven, *An Impartial Umpire: Industrial Relations and the Canadian State 1900-11* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 31-89. Horn and Esberey at least acknowledge the role of religion in their subjects' thought while Young and Craven avoid the subject altogether.
10. Keith Clifford, "'His Dominion': A Vision in Crisis," *Studies in Religion* 2, no. 4 (1973): 315-26; B. Kiesekamp, "Presbyterian and Methodist Divines: The Case for a National Church in Canada 1875-1900," *Studies in Religion* 2, no. 4 (1973): 289-302; Mary Vipond, "Canadian National Consciousness and the Formation of the United Church of Canada," *The Bulletin* 24 (1975): 5-27; William Magney, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel," *The Bulletin* 20 (1968): 3-95; Trofimenkoff, *Action Française*; Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and the Golden Calf*.
11. Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 49, no. 4 (1968), and a number of the essays in Richard Allen, ed., *The Social Gospel in Canada* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1975); Stewart Crysdale, *The Industrial Struggle and Protestant Ethics in Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1961); Bryan D. Palmer, *Working Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour 1800-1980* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1983); Michael Behiels, *Prelude to Quebec's Quiet Revolution: Liberalism Versus Neo-nationalism 1945-60* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985); Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism: Political Thought in the Thirties and Forties* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1980).

    Two surveys of Canadian labour historiography indicate the small degree of interest in working-class ties with religious institutions and thought. A contrasting focus on religion is remarkable in a book like E.P. Thompson's pivotal *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penquin, 1968), to which Canadian labour historians so often genuflect. See David Bercuson, "Through the Looking Glass of Culture: An Essay on the New Labour History and Working-Class Culture in Recent Canadian Historical Writing," *Labour* 7 (1981): 95-112, esp. 103-4. Also see Gregory Kealey, "Labour and Working-Class History in Canada: Prospects in the 1980s," ibid., 67-94.

12. Cook, *The Regenerators*; A.B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979); Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); L.K. Shook, *Catholic Post-Secondary Education in English-Speaking Canada: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

13. Thomas Flanagan, *Louis 'David' Riel: Prophet of the New World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979) and Hugh A. Dempsey, *Big Bear: The End of Freedom* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1984).

14. Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel as the Religion of the Agrarian Revolt," in C. Berger and R. Cook, eds., *The West and the Nation* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 174-86.

15. John A. Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959); David Elliot and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart* (Edmonton: Reidmore, 1988); see also note 9.

16. John S. Moir, "Church History: Has it a Future?" *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 13, no. 1 (1971): 2-3; Clifford, "Religion and the Development of Canadian Society"; F.A. Peake, "Church Missionary Society Personnel and Policy in Rupert's Land," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 30, no. 2 (October 1988): 59, and his "Rev. John Smithurst and the Ordination Controversy," chapter 8 in this book.

    A similar point has been made about the origins and relations between church history and mainstream history by British and American scholars: see Christopher Brooke et al., "What is Religious History?" *History Today* (August 1985): 43-52, esp. 44; and Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "The Problem of the History of Religion in America," *Church History* 57, supplement (1988): 135-38.

17. Wilma MacDonald, *Guide to the Holdings of the Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province and Dioceses of Rupert's Land* (Winnipeg: St. John's College Press, 1986) and many issues of the *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* such as "The Anglican Record in Canada," Occasional Paper No. 7, 1986.

18. J.E. Foster, "The Origins of the Mixed Bloods in the Canadian West," in L.H. Thomas, ed., *Essays on Western History* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976) and his "The Metis: The People and the Term," *Prairie Forum* 3, no. 1 (1978); Frits Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society," in Berger and Cook, eds., *The West and the Nation* and his "The Rev. Griffiths Owen Corbett and the Red River Civil War of 1869-80," *Canadian Historical Review* 57, no. 2 (1976). See also Frits Pannekoek, *A Snug Little Flock: The Social Origins of the Riel Resistance 1869-70* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1990).

19. Jean Barman et al., *Indian Education in Canada*, 2 vols. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986 and 1987) and Basil Johnson, *Indian School Days* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1987).

20. Rev. Stan Mackay, United Church of Canada, commentary on papers presented at "The Anglican Church in Western Canadian History" conference, St. John's College, University of Manitoba, 28 February 1987; Bertil Heeney, *Leaders of the Canadian Church* (Toronto: Musson, 1918).

    An early study examining this phenomenon is Jean Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakatla: A Victorian Missionary in British Columbia* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974).

21. Samplers for the issues are J.S. Moir, ed., *Church and State in Canada 1627-1867* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967); Lovell Clark, *The Manitoba School Question: Majority Rule or Minority Rights?* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1968). A

large bibliography has built up in the twenty years since these compilations were published.

22. John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), chapter 9.

23. John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984). See also F.A. Peake, "From the Red River to the Arctic," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 31, no. 2 (1989).

24. For example, Jennifer S.H. Brown and Robert Bridgeman, eds., *The Orders of the Dreamed: George Nelson on Cree and Northern Ojibwa Religion and Myth, 1823* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988).

    A recent review of Canadian works may be found in John S. Long, "The Cree Prophets: Oral and Documentary Sources," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 31, no. 1 (April 1989): 3-13.

25. Alan Haig, *The Victorian Clergy* (London: Croom Helm, 1984); Reba N. Sofer, *Ethics and Society in England: the Revolution in the Social Sciences 1870-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: the Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: Norton, 1978).

26. Nancy Sheehan et al., *Schools in the Canadian West* (Calgary: Detselig, 1986); John H. Thompson, *Canada 1922-39* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), chapter 8.

27. P.T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, *No Bleeding Heart: Charlotte Whitton, a Feminist on the Right* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986). Dr. Fast's work is drawn from her biography, *Missionary on Wheels: Eva Hasell and the Sunday School Caravans* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1979).

    An important recent study of women in the Church of England is Brian Heeney, *The Women's Movement in the Church of England 1850-1930* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

28. D.A. Nock, "Patriotism and Patriarchs: Anglican Archbishops and Indigenization," in J.D. Rabb, ed., *Religion and Reason* (Winnipeg: Ronald P. Frye and Company, 1983). See also his *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1988).

29. Mark Gabbert commented on this some time ago in reviewing Anglican works by Waterman and Brown and others: see his "Anglicans and Social Justice," *Queen's Quarterly* 85, no. 2 (1978): 191-214; Roger Hutchison, "The Dene and Project North," in Westfall, *Religion/Culture*, 391-410.

30. Compare with Donald B. Smith, *Sacred Feathers: the Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987) and his "The Life of George Copway or Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh (1818-1869)," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 23, no. 3 (1988): 5-38; Katherine Pettipas, ed., *The Diary of the Reverend Henry Budd 1870-1875* (Winnipeg: Hignell, 1974), Manitoba Record Society Publications Vol. 4.

31. See Stewart Crysdale and Les Wheatcroft, eds., *Religion in Canadian Society* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976).

32. In the Canadian area, see a work like George Rawlyk's *Ravished by the Spirit: Religious Revivals, Baptists, and Henry Alline* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), which is much broader than its title suggests, as well as a number of works mentioned above to indicate the exciting lines to which such inquiry leads. Doug Owram briefly notes the discussion of religion in intellectual history in "Intellectual History," in John Schultz, ed., *Writing About Canada: A Handbook for Modern Canadian History* (Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1990).

2

The Church of England and the Canadian West

L.G. Thomas

The Church of England has played a significant part in the formation of western Canadian society. No matter how broadly or how narrowly we define "the west," the Anglican church has been among the ecclesiastical pioneers from the International Boundary to the Arctic and from Hudson Bay and the Great Lakes to the Pacific, sometimes overstepping regional and even national boundaries. Anglican activity in British Columbia moves out from Vancouver Island and Victoria just as in the prairie west and north it is based on the Red River. "British Columbia" and "Rupert's Land" were significantly the first Anglican sees established in what was still a British, not a Canadian, northwest. Both to the east and west of the Rockies the ultimate dependence was upon the mother church of England rather than upon the dioceses of central and eastern Canada, which had their own problems of survival.

Though this essay is written largely in terms of the church in the prairie provinces, and particularly in those areas most affected by European settlement, this common dependence of the Anglican dioceses in the northwest upon overseas support in their formative stages rather than upon a nominally national church, provides a context that argues for a broad definition of "the west."

The Church of England came to the Canadian west with a mission to its Native peoples; their evangelization was indeed a primary purpose and the ministry to the European settler incidental. In missionary circles in the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century there was a lively interest in the possibility of a Native church, a church which would somehow preserve much of the Native culture, and certainly the Native language, develop a Native clergy and a theology in harmony with Native tradition but true to the essentials of the Christian gospel. How far this kind of thinking affected the missionaries who came to Red River is something that might be further explored, but this cast of mind is reflected in the writings of James Settee, one of the earliest Native ordinands. Certainly the Anglican missionaries and their wives seem to have inclined to the view that successful evangelization could only be achieved if the Native peoples adapted themselves to a settled agricultural society. In the areas of the mission field into which European settlement was slow to penetrate, the missionaries do not appear to have been in much doubt that ultimately the Native must adapt, though they were reasonably firm in their conviction that authority had a duty to protect them from abuse. Thus the Anglican church accepted the reserve system and substantial responsibilities for Native education, the latter seen as a necessary preparation for a fuller participation in a Europeanized society. A continuing examination is needed of the burden this acceptance of government policy laid upon the conscience of the church, of the laity as well as the clergy, and of any effect this might have on the shape of a rapidly changing social climate. An example is the work of Hugh Dempsey, who combines more than one approach to this relationship.[1]

Much of the use made of Anglican historical material relates to the missionary effort in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in an attempt to show how it affected the cultures of the Native peoples. Not too surprisingly, the tenor of the argument is unsympathetic to the missionary, the civil servant, and the politician. It might be useful to try to look more carefully at the attitudes of the settlers generally. The west was under pressure from intending immigrants, particularly from Europe, though many of the European settlers reached the Canadian west by way of the United States. The beginning of Christian missions was seen to be under this pressure also. It is difficult to imagine a commercial or a governmental strategy that would have insulated the Canadian west from this pressure and maintained it as a giant nature and Native preserve. The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), as Galbraith has shown,[2] attempted something of this kind and its efforts ended in conspicuous failure. The post-Confederation governments of Canada did indeed attempt to create in the west an infrastructure, political, economic and social, which would impose some order on the settlement process. The churches and the missionaries fitted into this plan and assumed, especially in relation to Native education, a burden that proved to be far beyond their resources, human and financial. Government did not come to the rescue because its resources too were limited, partly by pre-Keynesian notions of fiscal responsibility and partly by the fact that the welfare of the indigenous populations of the west was not the most pressing concern of the taxpayers of central Canada, however much they might wish to share in the exploitation of the west's resources. This context of control from the centre in the interest of establishing an orderly society has not been fully appreciated by social scientists, perhaps because it has not been, at least until quite recently, explicitly developed by Canadian historians.

The Anglican church in the west is covered by two invaluable books, *The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies* by T.C.B. Boon, and *The Anglican Church in British Columbia by Frank A. Peake*[3]. These are both helpful guides to the complexities of Anglican administration and, Boon's especially, to the sources. Both avoid controversial matters. Neither volume provides a comprehensive bibliography and here the student must depend on more generalized work. Two major historians of western Canada, W.L. Morton and G.F.G. Stanley, are identifiably Anglican but neither has written specifically about the church's impact on western society, though its influence may be seen as implicit in their writing. Indeed, an analysis of the Anglican elements in their thinking would be a fascinating exercise for anyone daring enough to depart so radically from the established orthodoxies of Canadian historiographical studies.[4]

The secondary literature both directly and indirectly relating to western

Canadian Anglicanism is based on the substantial body of historical materials generated by Anglican activity in the Canadian regions mentioned earlier. Whether we are thinking of the European settlers or the Native peoples of British Columbia or the Arctic islands, these materials have a significance far beyond the narrowly parochial. Anglican dependence on external support dictated a volume of correspondence and a level of recordkeeping that parallel the secular bureaucracies of business and government. The western bishops were heavily dependent upon the English missionary societies, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), and, above all, the Church Missionary Society (CMS). These were highly sophisticated organizations, raising and dispensing large sums of money, much of it contributed by people knowledgeable in the worlds of business and finance and with high expectations in terms of sound business practice. All this generated records and reports with related correspondence because they touched on matters of policy, and, what was even more vital, on matters of finance.

Thirty-five years ago the archival resources of the Canadian west were not impressive, though thanks to pioneers like Arthur S. Morton and Lewis H. Thomas, Saskatchewan had already given a leadership that was to transform the picture in the next generation. Alberta was, of all the western provinces, the most backward, but even in British Columbia, which had made a promising start, archives were underfunded, understaffed, and underused. The Public Archives of Canada, again thanks to A.S. Morton, had much to offer the student of western Canadian history, both in material and helpful expertise, but it could not fill all the gaps at once. Therefore, for anyone interested in Anglican records bearing on the development of the Canadian west, the place to go was clearly the United Kingdom, and specifically London, where all the great missionary societies had their headquarters.[5] All the missionary societies were still engaged in repairing the damage, and the dislocation of their work generally — their recordkeeping included — suffered during the war. The SPG was the one least likely to be inconvenienced by the presence of another overseas student. Their records, which were easily accessible for Canada, were of particular interest for the student of an immigrant society as the SPG was particularly concerned with the spiritual welfare of British settlers in the overseas empire. The CMS's central concern was with the conversion of the Native populations, though it did not exclude the European settler from its ministrations.

In the Canadian west the two societies complemented one another. The CMS, itself a product of the evangelical revival, was less sympathetic to the Tractarian position than the SPG, rooted as the latter was in an older tradition of high Anglicanism. The two societies had a considerable influence in the appointment of bishops and here considerations of churchmanship entered the picture. Thus, the first bishop of Rupert's Land, David Anderson, and his successor, Robert Machray, were staunchly evangelical, as was the first bishop of Saskatchewan, John McLean. Their primary commitments were to the Native population. In British Columbia, however, Bishop Hills was just as staunchly high church, as was the Honourable Adalbert Anson, first bishop of Qu'Appelle. There the primary ministry was seen as to the European settlers. Cyprian Pinkham, who succeeded Maclean as bishop of Saskatchewan (and when that vast diocese was divided, chose to be bishop of Calgary) is less easy to characterize. He came to the west from Newfoundland, where Tractarian influences were strong, and he accepted a diversity of views among his clergy.

This diversity in the views of its pioneer bishops at a time when internal tensions were strong in the mother church helped to create in the west a church that reflected the movements that were testing the traditional comprehensiveness of the Church of England. Had the able and strong-willed Machray had his way and had all the bishops of the west been sound evangelicals, the church in the west might have been more homogeneous and less prone to internal sectarian bickering. On the other hand, it would have been much less open to the winds of change that were, in the west's first century as part of the Canadian Confederation, blowing as much from the catholic as from the evangelical direction.

The relationship of the missionary societies to the Church of England's work in the Canadian west goes back to what was really its beginning. It was to them that those concerned for the spiritual welfare of Lord Selkirk's settlers and the Native population of the HBC's territories were to turn. The HBC's charter had always implied a responsibility for the nurture of religion in the HBC's territories and among the HBC's servants, but it does not appear to have been a concern uppermost in the collective mind of the HBC's management through the eighteenth century. The seventeenth century experiment of sending a chaplain to the Bay, with his wife and, humanely, a female companion for her, was not repeated and oddly enough their adventures do not seem to have caught the imagination of later writers, though one might think it an episode that would attract some of the contemporary purveyors of the blend of fact and fiction that passes for popular and profitable history.

In any case, the HBC had left the matter of providing religious exercises to those in charge of the HBC's posts. Although there may well have been officers who took this duty seriously, the historians of the HBC, including A.S. Morton, E.E. Rich and G. Williams, have not considered the topic one of sufficient importance for extended notice. Perhaps with an increasing interest in the social history of the fur trade someone will fill this gap. The religious disposition of fur traders, like David Thompson and Daniel Harmon, are certainly familiar. They were not Anglican (or did Thompson's early education at the Grey Coat School make him one?), but among the earlier traders, Alexander Henry the Elder ("the handsome Englishman") was, in retirement, regularly in his pew in Christ Church, Montréal.

However vestigial the implantation of Anglicanism into the pre-Selkirk west may have been, there was certainly some sense among those culturally affected by the fur trade presence, including the growing community, or miscellaneous groups, of mixed bloods, that some structure might beneficially be introduced into the religious activities of those influenced by the European presence. The Roman Catholic church was the first to respond, and this response had sympathetic support in Lower Canada among the French-speaking majority there.

The Selkirk settlers, however, were Presbyterian and, not unreasonably, expected to have a Presbyterian minister. Precisely why they did not get one until John Black arrived in 1851, is a question for which there seems to be no satisfactory answer. In Scotland, the Presbyterian church was going through a time of troubles which may have inhibited its various factions in their overseas missionary thrust. This may have put off HBC authorities used to the relatively decorous dissensions within the Church of England. Another possibility is that the lay ministry among the Kildonan Scots worked so satisfactorily that the prospect of an ordained, and perhaps divisively authoritarian, minister was not unanimously welcome. Possibly Selkirk, or some of those around him, or even some of the officers of the HBC, had reservations about a potentially intransigent minister.

Doubts about a Presbyterian appointment may explain A.S. Morton's, or Governor Semple's, suggestion that, as the nominally Christian population was divided between Presbyterian and Roman Catholic, a high Anglican might be an acceptable compromise. By high church Morton probably meant "ritualist" and this is, in the terms of the pre-Tractarian church, anachronistic, for high church at this point still meant taking an elevated view of the authority of the spiritual power represented by the church as against the authority of the secular state. This was, of course, precisely the disposition that George Simpson complained of in John West who arrived in the Red River in 1820. It was at that time possible for John West to have been at once an "evangelical" as this was understood in his time and an old-fashioned high churchman. West, as the son of a clergyman and a graduate of Oxford, was a gentleman and through his connection with Benjamin Harrison, likely to be listened to in high places. One can understand why Simpson was relieved when West did not return to the Red River and why he did what he could to blacken the missionary's character.[6]

West's successor, the Reverend David Jones, took a more conciliatory line and his ministry gained a wide acceptance in the developing colony. David Anderson's arrival in 1849 as the first bishop of Rupert's Land was a recognition, not only of the spiritual needs of the Red River but, of the challenge of missionary work in the British North American west. West had been warned that he must not too aggressively challenge his Roman Catholic counterparts. Anderson found himself involved in a quarrel over property with the Presbyterians (though it was certainly not the ministry to the Native population that was at issue) and beginning in 1850 the Methodists, with more support from the Canadas than the Church of

England mission enjoyed, were showing an increasingly vigorous interest in the upper country.

These denominational rivalries, complicated by a changing relationship between the HBC and the developing settlement, are prominent in the documentation of this period. They do not play as conspicuous a part in the way this stage in the Red River's development was to be perceived by later generations. It was a time on the one hand of growth and consolidation within the colony, and on the other of continuing isolation in a world that was experiencing the revolution in communications symbolized by the railway, the telegraph, and the steamship. In spite of the tribulations of flood and famine that the Red River experienced, the colony, internally and externally, had a relatively peaceful history and attained a degree of modest comfort, if not of secure prosperity, for a considerable proportion of its inhabitants. The view arose that this period was a kind of golden age, when the Red River was an island of civilization in the wilderness, with a civility largely attributable to the efforts of the churches, whose adherents, though they differed considerably in cultural attributes, were able to coexist without serious conflict. This is not quite the view taken of Red River society or of the Anglican church there evidenced by much recent scholarship.

To what extent did the presence of the Anglican church really shape the society of the Red River between the arrival of John West and the departure of Bishop Anderson? It was not, and it was never intended to be, an established church in the sense that John Strachan thought it ought to be in Upper Canada. But those who came to represent it, and their supporters in the mother country, carried with them the attitudes of those whose outlooks had been formed in countries where establishment was a fact of life. In Scotland the established church was going through a time of troubles; there were Scottish adherents of the Episcopalian tradition who could remember what it was to practice their faith underground and Scottish Roman Catholics who were still under legal disabilities. The Church of England had been recently refreshed by the evangelical movement and effectively challenged by the Methodists to look to its support among a poverty stricken people whose adherence it had so largely lost. Within the period from 1820 to 1865 the church was also experiencing the first convulsions of another revival, the Tractarian movement. Thus, even though formal establishment was never in prospect, questions about the relationship of the churches to the government, and in the Red River to the HBC, were very much in the minds of the settlers generally, whatever their denominational practice.

The missionary calling was, after all, to give leadership and, in a land that was perceived by the missionary as lacking the institutional structures essential to a Christian society, a large part of leadership lay in nurturing those institutions. In the society to which they were accustomed, and which they took, consciously or unconsciously, as the proper model, the parish priest (or the minister) was, with the squire (or the laird) the accepted leader.

The HBC officer was cast in the role of the squire, but he had his own preoccupations. As time passed and retired officers established themselves as landowners (perhaps property owners would be a better term), a kind of squirearchy developed which did not have quite the authority that stems from the landlord-tenant relationship. Thus, the clergy as resident, responsible and relatively educated filled the genuine vacuum. They were the available professionals. One might compare their role with that which was later played by the North West Mounted Police. The HBC officers often resented them and made fun of them but the company used them. Experiments with other professionals, lawyers like Adam Thom, and some of the army officers, suggest that the clerics gave the HBC and the colony good value.

Though no one could say that the Anglican clergy of the mid-century were overpaid, they did have a degree of economic security. They were relatively well educated and collectively they demonstrated a concern for education. In the colony they filled an administrative vacuum. It would have been surprising if they had not seen themselves as having collectively a responsibility for the maintenance of standards as part of their missionary endeavour. This was the model of mid-nineteenth century British society as they saw it. To persuade the various disparate elements present within the narrow limits of the Red River settlement, not to mention the wider world of the northwest, that they should accept this model, and also the standards the missionaries saw as indispensable to its successful realization, was a task of formidable proportions. It is obvious, from the state of the Red River at the time of the transfer of Rupert's Land to the newly created Canadian Confederation, that the task was far from complete if success was to be measured in terms of creating a unified and homogeneous society. The missionaries and their wives had, however, reinforced a view of the good society in the new world that was present in the fur trading community but which might well have been submerged by the pressure of Canadian and American settlement. Though the men and women of the mission, and their pretensions to leadership, might amuse Adam Thom and Letitia Hargreave, they did establish themselves as an element in the influential minority. By reason of their economic security, their education and their social position, they were "privileged settlers."

The Anglican clergy in the Red River before 1870 filled an administrative vacuum as the available professionals. They thus became part of the group that directed the development of the colony. This was a precedent for an Anglican involvement in the development of the larger west of the post-Confederation years. Though the formal establishment of any church was never in the cards for the west, the Anglicans, the Roman Catholics, and the Presbyterians all had experience of establishment, and these three groups constituted, if not a majority of the western population before 1916, certainly a majority in the influential minority. They were, and especially the Anglicans, inclined to make assumptions about leadership roles. Thus in the development of institutional structures (for example in the provision of health services), they put themselves forward or were put forward by others. It was in the field of education that these denominations, with their clergy well in front, were most conspicuous, though here, once the tides of immigration began to flow, they were soon joined by the Methodists. Although no one has done any extended statistical analysis of these influential minorities, either on a regional or provincial basis, it can be tentatively suggested that Anglicans had their share and perhaps rather more than their share in the shaping of the institutions of the west. This went beyond such service institutions as schools and hospitals. In the civil services, as they were established, the influential minority entrenched themselves. The advantage was to the settlers who came from Britain and who not only had no language problem but also had the advantage of an educational system superior on the whole, between 1880 and 1914, to any in North America. In Alberta, the contrast between the letters written by men educated (or perhaps one should say "schooled") in rural Ontario and in rural England is sometimes dramatic.[7]

Robert Machray, Anderson's successor as bishop, arrived in Rupert's Land in 1865. The Red River colony was uncertain of its future and full of discontents. Machray's responsibilities extended far beyond the colony. The work of missionaries like William Cockran at Portage la Prairie, Henry Budd and James Hunter at The Pas, James Settee at Lac la Ronge, John Horden at Moose Factory, William Kirkby at Fort Simpson and as far as the Alaska boundary, had to be extended and consolidated if the Church of England was to live up to its missionary ambitions. By the time of his death in 1904 the diocese had become the ecclesiastical province of Rupert's Land, with Machray as metropolitan. Its ten dioceses covered all the northwest, except for the civil province of British Columbia, and much of the present provinces of Ontario and Québec.

The years between Machray's arrival and the outbreak of World War I were, for the Anglican church in the west, a period of growth and consolidation that reflected the development of Canada as a whole. For the church, as for the country, the west provided the dynamic. Especially after the turn of the century, the increase in emigration from the United Kingdom particularly affected the demographics of the most westerly provinces, Alberta and British Columbia. It is difficult to disentangle the reality from the census returns but between about 1895 and 1914 the proportion of Anglicans or potential Anglicans appears to have increased. This demographic change put a new pressure on the resources of the western dioceses. In spite of the fact that Machray had been a prime mover in the establishment of a national synod for the Canadian church, with himself as the first primate of all Canada as well as metropolitan of the province of Rupert's Land, the western dioceses remained heavily dependent on the British Isles for money and for workers. Since John West's time, the church had placed an emphasis on education, and the Anglican clergy had played a major part in the evolution of the parish schools of the Red River which gave the west the basis of its educational system. With the acceptance of education as a major responsibility of the secular state, the emphasis of the church shifted to theological training, though both clergy and laity were active at every educational level. The educational activities of the church reflected the predominantly British origin and training of its clergy and many of its laymen. Certainly not all the projects were realistic, many of them never came to fruition and some had only a brief life, but these efforts did keep alive a tradition of education, and a direct contact with the educational world of a parent culture.[8]

To central Canada, the northwest was a hinterland with a vast potential. The influential minority had a strategy for its development and a vision for its future. That vision looked across the Atlantic to Britain for inspiration, and especially to an idealized version of the English rural society, a structured and orderly society very different from that which was seen, or thought to be seen, in the United States. In that vision the churches played a part and the Church of England, with its hierarchical organization and its tradition of a symbiotic relationship with the secular order, fitted in very nicely, always assuming it did not allow its concerns for the material welfare of its flock to get out of hand. Its clergy, drawn from the ranks of the privileged or assimilated to them by education, would assume some of the responsibility of administering the orderly society, just as they had done in the Red River's educational facilities. The ranks of the influential minority would be further supplemented by the more privileged, the better off or better educated, or better connected, of the emigrants from the United Kingdom or indeed from anywhere that the same social ideal was envisioned or cherished.

What might justify this obviously privileged position for some Anglicans, lay and clerical, would be the ability of the church to act as a support mechanism for the less advantaged settler and help him relate successfully to the western Canadian community. Did the Anglican church in the Canadian west demonstrate this ability? Whether this is a proper question for the historian to ask, let alone whether any satisfactory answer can be given, is certainly open to argument. Earlier it was suggested that the traditional stereotype of the Red River colony and the part played by the Anglican element in it is open to question. The clergy and their wives may have been a sadly divisive element, creating by their attitudes to other groups a community torn by jealousy and scandal; yet, a stereotype of the golden age was created and the church survived, retaining a measure of support.

The Anglican church in the Canadian west had a traditional commitment to the parochial system and this was the basis of its organization in the Red River. Archdeacon Cockran and his fellow missionaries carried the principle along the Assiniboine and even into the Native settlements. Later it spread along the railway lines and by 1914 much of the settled area of the west was, for Anglican purposes, organized in this way. Edmonton, for example, had a parish structure in 1914 that was not substantially modified until after 1945. In the rural areas the parish system presented problems, for the Anglican population was too scattered and too thin to provide a church within easy reach even if the human resources had been available to serve them. The Anglican church accordingly suffered from an endemic shortage of church workers and those available were often very thinly spread. Though some of them were prodigies of devotion and left a deep imprint on the collective memory, they could only occasionally establish the kind of continuity that links the parish church to the community it serves.

Among the many efforts that were made to meet the shortage of workers was the Archbishops' Western Canada Fund, launched in the years before the outbreak of World War I when the tide of United Kingdom immigration to the west was at its height.[9] The archbishops were, it is scarcely necessary to say, those of Canterbury and York, and the workers and the money came from the United Kingdom. Anyone reading its published "Occasional Papers" today would probably be shocked by its frank avowal of the necessity of keeping Canada British and Christian, preferably Anglican. It did, however, have a considerable impact on the western Canadian church at this critical juncture in its history, and especially in what was, in 1913, to become the Diocese of Edmonton. (Edmonton did not elect its first bishop until early 1914.) Settlement in Edmonton and its vicinity was enormously accelerated by the building of the two additional transcontinental railways, the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific, and it was along these lines, as well as in Edmonton itself, that much of the effort of the mission was concentrated. This injection of young men and women, some of them exceptional in ability and educational attainments, stimulated and influenced the development of the new communities with which they came into contact.

With the outbreak of war, many of the workers returned to the United Kingdom, most of them to join the services and of the survivors few returned permanently to the west.[10] World War I, the "Great War" to its generation, was a devastating experience for the participants everywhere but the Anglican church in the west was peculiarly vulnerable. Not only was it still largely a mission church, dependent on the United Kingdom for funds and for workers, but many of its most recent recruits (the United Kingdom immigrants of the immediately prewar years) were of military age and sensitive to the recruitment propaganda at both the Canadian and the imperial level. Though the church sometimes displayed an unattractive jingoism and bellicosity, there is some evidence of softer attitudes that may have influenced the collective western outlook in the period between the wars.

World War I was a watershed in the history of western Canadian Anglicanism. This is particularly true of Alberta and British Columbia, though the war affected the more mature dioceses of Saskatchewan and Manitoba as well, and indeed the whole Canadian church. No one has worked out the demographics of Canadian Anglicanism but there is certainly evidence that the proportion of Anglicans in the services was high. Given the casualty rates of World War I and the fact that many of the recruits were unmarried men who had not put their full imprint on the community, it would seem that Anglican influence diminished after 1914 simply because Anglicans were proportionately less numerous than before. Another hypothesis that might be usefully explored — especially in relation to Alberta and British Columbia's Anglican recruits — is that the latter were drawn largely from comparatively recent arrivals from the United Kingdom, not from other parts of Canada. These, if they survived, would be less likely to return to Canada than those with older ties.

The period between the wars, marked as it was by recession and depression in the west, was for the church one of adjustment to new circumstances. Though Britain still had the appearance of a great power and was still the unchallenged first among equals in the Commonwealth, Canada was gradually distancing herself from what was still seen, at least by western Anglicans, as the mother country. Their dependent relationship and the fact that Anglican immigrants were still arriving, meant that they were scarcely in the van of the movement towards Canadianization or, as many of them might have put it, Americanization. Though the west seemed moderately prosperous in the later twenties, it lacked the optimism and the dynamism of the immediate prewar years. In these circumstances the depression of the 1930s might have been expected to have a devastating effect upon both the finances and the morale of the church. Yet the church coped with the disaster of the Machray defalcations, discovered in 1932, which had virtually destroyed the endowments of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, five missionary dioceses and St. John's College, not to mention serious losses to the University of Manitoba. Indeed, the church emerged from these tribulations with a much enhanced sense of its own responsibility for the material support of its work.

A leader in the restoration of the finances of the church was Pinkham's New Brunswick born successor as bishop of Calgary, Louis Ralph Sherman. Having reformed the decrepit administration of his own diocese, he carried his advocacy of self-support throughout the western church. In 1943 he was elected metropolitan of Rupert's Land, which gave him further scope, for under war conditions he could argue even more strongly against the traditional dependence on the United Kingdom. The postwar church in the west, in terms of the supply of workers as well as material resources, looked eastward instead of overseas. Yet it remained conscious of the implications of membership in a world communion that cut across barriers of race, class and colour. It was an imperfect and fragmentary consciousness but perhaps not entirely insignificant in a country and a continent tempted to turn inward into a self-congratulatory isolation.

This sense of partnership in a world community, and of an ability to sustain this role independent of external material support, was reflected in two concessions to nationalism of some symbolic importance. The church formally changed its name; instead of the Church of England in Canada, it became in 1954 the Anglican Church of Canada. It also carried out a revision of the prayer book, a very conservative revision but one that met the realities of the worship of the Canadian congregations. The major changes were in the order for the Eucharist; changes that were a step in what was the most significant development in western Anglicanism in the last century, the general acceptance of the Eucharist as the principal act in the church's services. In theory, this had never been in doubt, but from the time that David Jones had modified the liturgy to suit his Presbyterian parishioners, popular practice and prejudice had been at odds with doctrinal orthodoxy. The Anglican communion was not alone in this affirmation of the centrality of the Eucharist in worship; the principle played a significant part in the ecumenical conversations that brought the various denominations into a closer cooperation, if not into the organic union they sought.

The anticipated postwar recession did not materialize after 1945, and in common with the churches generally, Anglicans used the unexpected prosperity to restore and rebuild structures neglected in the years of depression and war.[11] Again in common with the other religious bodies, special emphasis was placed upon religious education. How far this paved the way for a questioning of the discrepancy between the values of Christianity and those of the pervasive materialism of North American society is something that may be of interest to the cultural historian.

Anglicans in the west had been a minority group, even when an influential one, and this had always made the establishment of a rural ministry difficult. The tendency of Anglicans to gravitate towards the urban centres, and especially after 1945, the increasing urbanization of the west, made a parish system almost impossible to sustain. Though a few rural churches survived as vigorous centres of community life and though there was an effort to provide a ministry to isolated Anglican families or groups of families, the postwar period saw the Anglican church become overwhelmingly urban. For the individual, or the family with a strong commitment to the church, improved communications made it possible to maintain an association with an urban centre. This sometimes helped beleaguered Anglican congregations in smaller towns to survive but in the long run accelerated the process of eliminating the distinction between rural and urban. Like any other western Canadian, the rural Anglican depended less and less on immediate neighbours and more and more on the telephone and car, which gives easy access to the amenities preferred. The church which once gathered neighbours together has become a gathering of like-minded people who are not "neighbours" in the physical sense of the word. How does this pattern of relationships affect the structures of western Canadian society? Does it promote a community in which the individual can feel comfortable and yet retain whatever it is that makes an individual?

NOTES

1. Hugh Dempsey's works are: *Crowfoot: Chief of the Blackfeet* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1976); *Big Bear: The End of Freedom* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1984); *The Gentle Persuader: A Biography of James Gladstone* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1986).
2. J.S. Galbraith, *The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957).
3. T.C.B. Boon, *The Anglican Church From The Bay to the Rockies: A History of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land and Its Dioceses From 1820 to 1950* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962); Frank A. Peake, *The Anglican Church in British Columbia* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1959).
4. Both formed their styles at a time when the language of the *Book of Common Prayer* had been little changed and when the King James version of *The Bible* was in common use in Anglican churches.

   One may wonder about the contemporary impact of the *Book of Alternative Services*, not to mention the word processor. Anglican influences might also be discerned in the perceptive and sensitive writing of that distinguished historian of British Columbia, Margaret Ormsby.
5. L.G. Thomas, "English Missionary Records and the History of the Canadian West," *Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association*, Winnipeg, 1954.
6. R.A. Willie, "John West," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 7.
7. P.A. Dunae, ed., *Ranchers' Legacy, Alberta Essays by Lewis G. Thomas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986).
8. L.G. Thomas, "The Church of England and Higher Education in the Prairie West before 1914," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 3, no. 1 (January 1956).
9. L.G. Thomas, "Mission Church in Edmonton: An Anglican Experiment in the Canadian West," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (April 1958).
10. One who did return was J.B. Bickersteth. *Land of the Open Door* (1914; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976).
11. L.G. Thomas, "A Layman Encounters the New Bishop," in William E. Harrison, ed., *I Have Chosen You, The Life and Ministry of Walter Foster Barfoot* (Winnipeg: Diocese of Rupert's Land, 1986), 59-68.

3

"Insidious" Sources and the Historical Interpretation of the Pre-1870 West

Frits Pannekoek

There has been a noticeable absence of the Anglican church, or its documents, in the mainstream of Canadian historical writing on the pre-1870 west. This does not mean that the Church of England has not been the subject of exhaustive research; it has been, by church historians or historians of missionary endeavours like T.C.B. Boon, Arthur Thompson, Vera Fast, Katherine Pettipas, and Frank Peake. Rather it means that those historians struggling with the broader social and economic history of the pre-1870 west, who set the general direction of western Canadian historiography, have ignored not only the Church of England and its contributions, but more important the archives of its various missionary societies and one diocese.

A brief examination of the various mainstream authors who have set the interpretation of the pre-1870 west will illustrate these points. G.F.G. Stanley, himself a member of the Church of England, did not use primary Anglican church sources in his *The Birth of Western Canada* or in his later *Louis Riel* and did not identify the Church of England as having any major role in either the pre-1870 west in general, or in the insurrection of 1869 in particular. Griffiths Owen Corbett, a missionary sponsored by the Colonial and Continental Church Society and one of the principal opponents to the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) during the late 1850s and early 1860s pro-Canada movement in Red River, is only once referred to and then as James Corbett.[1] His denomination was forgotten. No other cleric receives mention, although there are fleeting and correct references to Bishop Machray.[2] None of the other Anglican clergy like J.P. Gardiner or Archdeacon Cowley, two of the many who were instrumental in keeping the English-speaking mixed bloods from rising in opposition to Riel are mentioned. The Church of England and its adherents, the English-speaking mixed bloods, who may have formed one-third of the settlement, are portrayed as passive or sympathetic to Riel. Neither was! Stanley asserts:

> The half-breed (referring to both Scottish and French half-breeds) was not merely a French ebullition. . . it was the rising of a small, primitive, native community against economic and racial absorption by an unfamiliar, aggressive civilization.[3]

The frontierist assumptions that the "primitive" mixed bloods and their missionary teachers would inevitably resist the too rapidly moving agricultural frontier, would not have been proven out had the archives of the Church Missionary Society, the Colonial and Continental Church Society or the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel been examined.[4] The documents in these archives would have suggested a situation that was more complex and deeply rooted in the historical past of the settlement. Red

River was a mixed blood settlement that by the early 1860s was deeply divided between the English-speaking mixed bloods largely of Protestant heritage, and French-speaking mixed bloods largely of Roman Catholic heritage.[5]

A.S. Morton, who spent so much time in the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) archives, also underplayed the presence of the Church of England in the pre-1870 west. The impact of a complete reliance on the commercial sources of the company is evident in his summary assessment of the Church of England's presence in Red River. The missionaries and their bishop were important in the social hierarchy and politics because the HBC made them important.

> In a conspicuous position beside the Company's officers stood the Anglicans, gathered around their clergymen, and around the churches and the schools. They did not enjoy their influence because of their numbers, but rather because the Company had put the religious and moral welfare of the Settlement into the hands of their Anglican chaplains and of the Church Missionary Society.[6]

It can be alternately argued that by the 1850s the HBC had little choice, given the scrutiny of the Aborigines Protection Society and the British Parliament, but to recognize the influence of the Church of England and its missionaries. The clergy acted independently and as W.L. Morton was to show their parishes were discreet social and political entities.[7] E.E. Rich in both his *The Fur Trade and the North West to 1857* and *The Hudson's Bay Company* also treated the church as peripheral. Certainly none of the church archives were consulted. What is particularly puzzling in his *The Hudson's Bay Company* is the complete absence of any mention of the substantial role the previously mentioned Griffiths Owen Corbett played in fomenting anti-HBC feeling in the settlement — a role definitely recognized and given great play by contemporaries like James Joseph Hargrave who gave him substantial space in his *Red River*.[8] The *Nor'Wester*, the settlement scandal sheet, gave him even greater coverage.[9] The unsavoury sex scandal which complicated Corbett's anti-HBC stand seems to have estranged him from history.

W.L. Morton, also a member of the Church of England, in his *Manitoba: A History* and in his introduction to the Eden Colvile letters provided more space to the clergy, but they were still a backdrop; not principal actors in the Red River drama.[10] This is peculiar given that one of Morton's very first publications, "The Red River Parish: Its Place in the Development of Manitoba" emphasized the importance of the churches in the Red River identity. In 1939 Morton argued that

> the social aspect of the life of Red River had developed around the church. From this point of view the Red River Settlement was a congregation of missions. . . . The parishes were the national, as well as the ecclesiastical units of the settlement.[11]

Morton proceeded to point out the particular importance and prominence of St. Andrew's in both the social and political events that shaped Manitoba.

Had he pursued this tack he would have undoubtedly been able to delineate the English-speaking mixed blood community and its peculiarities.

What stopped Morton from exploring these highly important observations further? Possibly by the 1950s Morton had fallen into the thrall of Marcel Giraud's civilization/savagism dichotomy.[12] Giraud saw the missionary as one of the critical forces assisting the HBC in pulling and pushing the "primitive" mixed bloods and Natives to "civilization." Perhaps Morton felt that further research would not change the general thrust of his conclusions for which Giraud provided such seemingly exhaustive research.

However, Giraud's oversight of Anglican source material led him to a marginal treatment of those he called the Scottish Métis and their religion. He painted them as "children of superior officers" less completely "assimilated into the native races" who most carefully preserved their Scottish ancestry.[13] Their clergy were treated as peripherally by Giraud as they had been by Rich. Giraud however alluded to the importance of the growing divergence between the Scottish and French Métis that was precipitated by the Canadian annexation movement. While Giraud correctly identified the growing separation between the two groups, an investigation of Anglican church records would have indicated how deep that division was and that that division was not rooted in economics. Giraud argued that

> The imminent invasion of the country by colonists from Ontario could not awaken in them [the mixed bloods] the same apprehensions as appeared in the French group; the community of language and religion was bound to create a link quickly enough between the old and new society, while the greater diligence which the Scots brought to their farming, and the more limited role of nomadism in their lives, protected them from the heavy threat of despoilment that was already hanging over the French-speaking group. The divergence that now emerged between the two parts of the people of mixed bloods showed that there was no true national solidarity between them.[14]

Had Giraud investigated more carefully he would have found from Anglican church records that in the very early period a strong sense of unity between the two mixed blood groups did exist and that the clergy accentuated conscious and subconscious differences which were largely rooted in religion.

Until the 1960s then, the questions posed by these western Canadian historians have been directed by the documentation available in the HBC Archives untempered by the differing concerns of Anglican and Methodist church archival documents. The summary impact has been to: underestimate the separateness of the English-speaking mixed bloods in Red River and possibly in the western Canadian interior; underestimate the role of the English-speaking mixed bloods in the history of Red River and possibly the western interior; underestimate the role of the Anglican clergy in the history of western Canada and the major events that shaped it.

By the late 1960s research in Anglican church records which would ultimately illuminate several major themes in western Canadian history began in earnest. This research, encouraged by Professor Lewis G. Thomas of the University of Alberta and his real understanding and appreciation of the role of the church in western Canada, was however undertaken by his students and disciples in the secular and sceptical environment of the 1960s and 1970s.[15] This secular skepticism, particularly by mainstream historians, would be a significant reason why these studies would have such a limited effect on the developing historiography of the pre-1870 west.

The impact of secular skepticism on scholarly investigation particularly of missionary/Native relations has been well outlined by Philip Goldring in his 1984 article in *The Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, "Religion, Missions, and Native Culture."[16] He observed that historians and anthropologists, particularly after World War II, tended towards a "secular view." They searched for personal perspectives in a largely secular age and usually found their conscience to be "anticolonialist and anti-bureaucratic."[17] Missionaries are not seen as supporting Native customs and traditions, rather they are seen as bent on the purposeful and malicious alienation of the Native from his own more traditional and by implication more valuable social, economic, and religious order. Goldring further observed that the secular disparagement of missions had gone so far that many scholars frequently suggest that missionaries "threatened" Native cultures more than traders. Perhaps they did, but the evidence is not in and the comparative case not presented and argued.

John Foster, a Thomas student, was the first to carefully juxtapose Anglican church and HBC sources to determine the outline and characteristic of that previously shadowy community, designated by him as the countryborn or English-speaking mixed bloods. Of Foster's many essays, "The Origins of the Mixed Bloods in the Canadian West" in *Essays on Western History* written in honour of Lewis G. Thomas, is particularly suggestive.[18] Here Foster delineated the roots of the mixed blood identity and made several critical observations of the role of the church. He argued that the church was a democratizing influence in that it provided the opportunity for a number of English-speaking mixed bloods to learn to read, a skill critical if one wanted to obtain a clerical position with the HBC. He further argued that the church was an instrumental factor in completing the final cultural transformation of the English-speaking and evangelical Anglican mixed bloods at Red River into a cultural cohesion. While Foster's writings do not focus on the missionary as such, but rather on the English-speaking mixed bloods community, it is nevertheless remarkable in that of all the historians dealing with missionaries he alone has not fallen into the secular trap which isolates the missionary as a singularly malevolent influence. Foster views the social structure of the pre-1870 west as dynamic, determined by interaction of European and Native. He has not taken sides.

Sylvia Van Kirk, in *Many Tender Ties*, like Foster, effectively combined

HBC and Church Missionary Society sources to pass sustained comment on the role of the missionary in the context of the wider fur trade community. Van Kirk however has fallen in the secularist trap. The missionaries are chastised for destroying preferred fragile Native cultural practices. Van Kirk asserts that "the presence of the missionaries helped to block the traditional socializing process which had conditioned incoming whites to a responsible view of the custom of the country."[19] The author has taken sides and compromised the possibility of a careful dispassionate view of the impact of the clergy on fur trade marriage patterns of the 1850s.

Jennifer Brown's *Strangers in Blood*, a landmark analysis of fur trade family structure, did not use Church of England generated primary sources at all. Brown's treatment of the missionary is brief and for the most part escapes the secular bias, although the Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy are interpreted as the "first real threat" to the status of mixed blood women.[20] Foster illustrated some of the possibilities that escaped Brown, where she did not use church sources. In his "Some Questions and Perspectives on the Problem of Métis Roots" in *The New Peoples* he notes some significant missionary observations on family life, especially the relationship between husband and wife. Foster points to the fact that the missionary record does offer insight into the social conditions of those not likely to figure largely in the correspondence of the influential and literate, who so dominate fur trade archival collections.

The obstacle that the secular bias can present to a full integration of Anglican church sources in the writing of fur trade social history is dramatically illustrated in Irene Spry's "The Métis and Mixed Bloods of Rupert's Land."[21] Her paper attempts to refute my assertion, made in various articles, that the clergy were instrumental for various reasons in precipitating conflict between Roman Catholic French-speaking Métis and Anglican English-speaking mixed bloods.[22] In finding the missionary to be at the root of the disintegration of Red River society, I will admit that I too can be accused of an anticolonialist secular interpretation. I can only state in my own defense that I do not see the missionary as disturbing an idyllic Native/Métis society completely at peace with itself. Rather I see the Church of England and its missionaries as a critical factor which must be explored to determine why the English speaking mixed bloods so readily accepted and ultimately became part of the new Canada.

Spry believes that the mixed blood peoples of western Canada were, by the 1870s, a traditional and distinct society united by blood. She sees the missionary as a scurrilous element that attempted unsuccessfully to destroy her united mixed bloods. In her refutation of my work Spry argues that:

> Very little evidence of conflict, let alone hatred, has come of light except in the clerical sources on which Pannekoek's conclusion seems in large part to be based. Such sources it is submitted, must be used with great care. Independent evidence is needed to test the testimony of those who were concerned to convert the adherents of rival dogmas and to protect their own flocks from counter conversion.[23]

I should first point out that my arguments are not based largely on "insidious" clerical sources. They are based equally on HBC documents. There is no doubt that the evidence of clerics must be tested; but why should the letters and diaries of the clergy relating to their "religious wars" require any more care in analysis than the documents penned by sometimes avaricious capitalist fur traders? What is curious is that Spry accepts commercial documents, and asserts, because they do not mention religious divisions, that no religious divisions existed. More important, she argues that the divisions within the community were largely economic ones between farmer and trader, and between gentleman and engagé. These conclusions based as they are on business archives, come as no surprise. Surely religious sources can be used as a counterpoint to HBC sources! Surely sound research will be exhaustive of all source material!

Varying interpretations aside, Van Kirk, Brown, Spry and Foster would all acknowledge the importance to one degree or another of the missionary. Arthur Ray in his very important *Indians in the Fur Trade* does not. Not a single primary or secondary missionary source is cited, not a missionary mentioned, nor a missionary settlement noted. While Ray's concerns are admittedly with the period before 1821, his three last chapters do focus on the post-1832 period. In these chapters he could have discussed the impact of the missionary on the fur trade, subsistence patterns, and changing western Canadian demographics. There were Native mission settlements at, for example, St. Peter's, Rossville, The Pas, and Fairford. Each settlement had a population of several hundred and their inhabitants were dependent to some degree on the fur trade economy whether as trappers, or as boatmen.[24]

What Ray illustrates is that church history and missionary sources are still considered very peripheral to the main stream of Canadian history. Church historians, the most important being John Webster Grant, are diligent in their work, but remain isolated from the mainstream of western Canadian historiography.[25]

Had this last decade of church historians and their analysis had impact, it would have been evident in Gerald Friesen's *The Canadian Prairies* an extremely successful synthesis of original scholarship and secondary literature. The first ninety pages of Friesen's book which deal with the Natives to 1840, and the Métis, fur trade and Red River settlement to 1844 make no mention whatsoever of the various churches or their impacts. By 1844 the churches had been in Red River at least for twenty-six years, critical years in Foster's mind in the formation of both the English-speaking mixed blood and the St. Peter's Native communities. His treatment of Red River from 1840 to 1870 brings his first mention of the missionary.

> The missionaries were consistent in their teachings, relentless in the establishment of new schools and churches, and disputatious when issues that affected marriage, baptisms, and the hunt threatened their ideals. Though it was not their goal to create race and class divisions, this was the result of their work.[26]

Friesen has accepted the secular bias of his secondary sources. The missionaries did not create race and class divisions, rather their teachings and predilections struck a responsive chord in Red River. The divisions already existed. Friesen also notes the role of the Reverend Corbett in the Canadian annexation movement. There is absolutely no mention whatsoever of the activities of the Church Missionary Society in the interior of the pre-1870 Canadian west. Anglicans should not worry that they were singled out, for the Methodists and Catholics were also omitted.

Church historians should not be too ready to chastise Friesen. His book, based on an exhaustive search of the literature, is truly reflective of what western Canada's senior "mainstream" historians considered relevant. It is time church historians began to pose questions and undertake research that is pertinent to, and illuminates some of the concerns of these "mainstream" historians. By participating in national and regional debates as well as those current in the field of church history, the importance of the church and church sources in illuminating broader themes will become increasingly evident. The questions that historians in the pre-1870 west are attempting to answer now relate to the nature of the mixed blood community, the degree to which the Native peoples determined the course of the fur trade, the family structure of the fur trade, and the social and economic relationship of the interior Métis to those resident in Red River. All of these questions should require an understanding of the Church of England and the Church of Rome, their adherents and their clergy. However the historians working on these questions are likely to follow the example of their mainstream mentors and avoid the churches in their search for causation. For example in a recent paper delivered to the Department of History at the University of Alberta, "Métis Mobility in the Transition from Peasant Society to Industrial Capitalism: Migration and Persistence of the Red River Métis, 1835 to 1890," Gerhard Ens, a student of Foster, assessed the reasons for the Métis outmigration from Red River. He finds the causes to be the economic pull of the buffalo robe trade of the interior and the increasing racism precipitated by the new Ontarians. While church sources are used to support his economic arguments the religious conflicts indigenous to Red River are not even mentioned.

What is the solution to this apparent failure of the church and its sources to secure historiographical place? Church historians must encourage their colleagues to jump the barriers of secular prejudice. Until this happens they will never accept the missionary as other than a destructive, negative and peripheral force. In the immediate future it is however more likely that the churches in the pre-1870 west will continue to be interpretated within the context of imperial colonialism as agents of either a Canadian or British metropolis bent upon spreading its vision of society and culture to the subjugated Natives and Métis of western Canada. The churches and their clergy must find their place not as malevolent imposed institutions but rather as one of the many important influences along side the fur trading companies and their traders, who precipitated change to the always dynamic social, economic, political and institutional structure of the pre-1870 west.

NOTES

1. G.F.G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada* (London: Longmans, Green, 1961), 51-52.
2. Ibid., 63, 82, 83, 93, 102, 104.
3. Ibid., 88.
4. The majority of documents relating to the pre-1870 west are contained in the archives of the Church Missionary Society, particularly its Rupert's Land "O" series, "Original Letters, Journals, Papers, Incoming." The archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are less complete and the annual letters of the missionaries while useful are not detailed. The Minute Books of the Colonial and Continental Church Society are all that are left of their archives which were lost in World War II.
5. See for example F. Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870" in R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, eds., *The Prairie West Historical Readings* (Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1985), 100, 116.
6. A.S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939), 802.
7. W. L. Morton, "The Red River Parish: Its Place in the Development of Manitoba," in R.C. Lodge, ed., *Manitoba Essays* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1937), 89, 105.
8. J.J. Hargrave, *Red River* (Montréal: John Lovell, 1871), 260, 289.
9. *The Nor'Wester* (1863), 5.
10. W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957).
11. Morton, "Red River Parish," 90.
12. W.L. Morton, "The Canadian Métis," *The Beaver* (September 1950).
13. Marcel Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, 2 vols., trans. by George Woodcock (1945; Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986) vol. 2, 207.
14. Ibid., 267.
15. For L.G. Thomas's interest in church history see L.H. Thomas, "Lewis G. Thomas" in L.H. Thomas ed., *Essays in Western History* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976) 312.
16. Philip Goldring, "Religion, Missions, and Native Culture," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 26 (1984): 43-49. There are several other excellent recent books which deal with the secular fallacy. These are T.O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism A Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982); Darrell L. Whiteman, ed., *Missionaries, Anthropologists and Cultural Change*, 2 vols. (Williamsburg: Department of Anthropology, 1985); Holger Bernt Hansen, *Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting: Uganda 1890-1925* (London: Heinemann, 1984); and Darrell L. Whiteman, *Melanesians and Missionaries: An Ethnohistorical Study of Social and Religious Change in the Southwest Pacific* (Pasadena: Williams Carey Library, 1983).
17. Goldring, "Religion," 46.
18. John Foster, "The Origins of the Mixed Bloods in the Canadian West," in Lewis H. Thomas, ed., *Essays on Western History* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976) 71, 80.
19. S. Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980), 159.
20. Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), 210.
21. Irene Spry, "The Métis and Mixed Bloods of Rupert's Land Before 1870," in J. Peterson and J.S.H. Brown, eds., *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985).
22. Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church."

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23. Spry, "The Métis," 97.
24. F. Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Missions in the Canadian West to 1870," (Master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1970); Arthur Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).
25. John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).
26. Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 97.

4

Anglican Archives in Rupert's Land

Wilma MacDonald

Until 1870 the vast area which is now northern Québec and Ontario, the prairies, Northwest Territories, Yukon, and portions of British Columbia was known as Rupert's Land, in the domain of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). By 1670 the HBC had acquired a region extending over 2.7 million square miles. To protect its lucrative and increasing fur trade, the company successfully resisted attempts to colonize the territory. No effort was made to minister to the few Christian people in the widely scattered forts of the HBC or to evangelize the Native peoples until the early nineteenth century. In 1820, some six years after the tenacious Scots established an agricultural settlement on the banks of the Red River, guided there by the Earl of Selkirk, the HBC sent out an Anglican chaplain, the Reverend John West.

Although John West was appointed to minister to the HBC's officers and servants, he also looked after the needs of the small Scottish colony and took great interest in the Natives. He established a school in the Red River settlement on a parcel of land set apart for church purposes by the company (on which the Cathedral Church of St. John now stands). West's efforts laid the foundations for missionary work and also marked the beginning of formal education in Manitoba. The small school he began in 1820 was followed by the Red River Academy, founded by John Macallum and revived by Bishop David Anderson. Anderson renamed the school St. John's College in 1849. In 1877 the college joined with two other church colleges — St. Boniface and Manitoba — to form the University of Manitoba.

John West was the first of a great many missionary priests who, with their wives, established the Church of England in Rupert's Land. By 1849 letters patent were issued by the crown to authorize the first bishopric in Rupert's Land, funded by the Leith Charity, a legacy of former HBC factor, James Leith. Bishop George Jehosaphat Mountain of the Diocese of Québec, who had visited the Red River settlement in 1844, was instrumental in recommending to church officials in England that a diocesan structure be established. The Reverend David Anderson was consecrated the first bishop of the Diocese of Rupert's Land in 1849. Anderson served until 1865; he was succeeded by Bishop Robert Machray, who served until his death in 1904.

Bishop Robert Machray strongly felt the need of further diocesan organization. On 30 May 1866, he assembled the first conference of clergy and lay delegates held in the diocese. Ten clergymen and eighteen lay delegates travelled great distances to reach the Red River settlement. These delegates represented nine missions. Their meeting laid the groundwork for the formation of the first synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, which was held on 24 February 1869. Machray also oversaw the founding of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land in 1873. This administrative body linked the several scattered dioceses which by then had been created from portions of the immense original diocese. Machray went on to become the first primate of all Canada when the four ecclesiastical provinces of the Anglican Church of Canada joined to form general synod in 1893. It was not until the Reverend Samuel Pritchard Matheson was consecrated the third bishop of the Diocese of Rupert's Land in 1904 that a Canadian-born priest held this office.

This brief introduction to the early history of the Anglican Church of Canada in Rupert's Land provides a context within which to place the "Rupert's Land Archival Project '84." The project's main aim was to identify the surviving records of the church's activity in the greater Winnipeg area, and in particular in the diocesan and provincial archives, to arrange and describe them, and to prepare a guide. With the cooperation of the general synod archivist, Terry Thompson, Mr. D.A. Thompson as chancellor of the ecclesiastical province of Rupert's Land applied in 1983 to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for financial support for the project. A Research Tools grant was awarded in the fall of that year, and this together with support from the diocese, the province and general synod resulted in the commencement of the project in January 1984.

Preliminary inventories were made of the diocesan material housed in the Anglican Centre and of the provincial records on deposit in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM). The provincial collection contains official records of nine dioceses from their dates of formation to the 1950s. These records are synod journals of proceedings and constitutions and canons. The administrative records of the ecclesiastical province include House of Bishops' minutes; certificates of election of bishops; orders of service for the enthronement of archbishops; a registry book containing the official consecration certificates from 1884 to 1970; other records of the registrar, secretary, and treasurer of the provincial synod; boundaries records; Clergy Superannuation Fund and Clergy Widows' and Orphans' Fund records; and records related to the centenary of the church in Rupert's Land (1820 to 1920).

Many valuable manuscript collections, such as David Anderson's papers, complement the official provincial records. The Anderson papers include Church Missionary Society (CMS) instructions to the first bishop dated 5 June 1849; correspondence with the governor and council, Rupert's Land and the CMS concerning the Presbyterian settlement, as well as correspondence with Robert Machray. The Robert Machray papers (unfortunately greatly reduced by fire while in the possession of a family member in Great Britain) include correspondence with HBC officials between 1860 and 1870. Other manuscript holdings include several translations of Chipewyan and Slavic manuscripts into the Tukudh language by William Carpenter Bompas, who served as a missionary in the Mackenzie River, Athabasca and Selkirk (or Yukon) regions for forty-one years, and was consecutively bishop of each of these dioceses. Bompas died in 1906.

Translations of portions of the gospel into several Native languages form a major part of the provincial collections. These works include John Thomas Griffin's Cree translations, James R. Lucas's Slavi-English translations, Robert McDonald's Tukudh translations, and John William Tims's translations of Blackfoot and Sarcee. The papers of Robert McDonald constitute one of the most complete collections, containing sixteen volumes of his private journals covering the period 1852-1912, with some gaps; correspondence covering a fifty-year period; sermons, ordination certificates, Tukudh mission translations, notes, and a Mackenzie River District Census for 1858, accounts and biographical material. All of the Robert McDonald journals have been transcribed and typed copies form part of the collection. The correspondence includes letters from Bishop William Day Reeve over a twenty year period. Parenthetically, the journals were indexed by the Yukon Native Language Centre, Whitehorse, in April 1985 and an index is available at the PAM.

Originals and copies of historical documents as well as printed material and publications related to the Church of England and its missionaries form the very large personal collection of Dr. T.C.B. Boon. Upon learning that there were large amounts of Boon's material in the basement of the Cathedral Church of St. John and in St. John's College Archives, the decision was made to leave these records unarranged during the survey. Dr. Boon's diligent collecting was done during his association with St. John's College, later while holding clerical charges in Manitoba and Alberta, and subsequently when he was the archivist for the ecclesiastical province. During his tenure as archivist, Boon, assisted by Christopher T. Best, devised a four-digit numerical system for arranging the provincial records and prepared inventories of both the manuscript section and the book section. The book section alone had over one thousand texts. In 1959 the ecclesiastical province's records were placed in the PAM. They measure 6.5 metres in extent, and include such media as paper and parchment documents, maps, photographs, glass negatives, slides and newspaper clippings.

Turning now to the diocesan archives, they consist of 18 metres of administrative records and manuscript material and 16.5 metres of parish records, including parish and vestry registers. The canons of the diocesan synod give the registrar responsibility for parochial registers which are no longer in use. All textual records are expected to be retained in the parishes themselves. However, parish officials often request storage of these records with the diocesan archives. A complete list of parish registers, showing the dates of births, confirmations, marriages and burials, was prepared during the survey. The oldest parish records include the historical Red River churches of St. Andrew's (Lower Fort Garry, 1835-1984); St Paul's Middlechurch (1850-1961); and Winnipeg's Cathedral Church of St. John (Upper Fort Garry, 1813-1979). One hundred and five parishes have deposited their registers in the diocesan archives.

The administrative records of the diocese include acts of incorporation, letters patent, constitution and canons from 1849 to 1980; synod journals of proceedings; endowments and trusts (including the original Leith Charity); the minutes of the first executive committee, later known as the diocesan council (1867 to 1983); and minutes of the finance committee of the CMS from 1850 to 1947. They also include Woman's Auxiliary and Anglican Church Woman records going back to 1894, and records of the rural deaneries of Dufferin, Lisgar, Portage La Prairie and Winnipeg.

Few of the bishops of the Diocese of Rupert's Land left their correspondence, diaries, or personal papers in the archives. Whether they are still in private hands is a question yet to be answered. A few records exist of Samuel Pritchard Matheson, the third bishop; Robert Machray; and William Cyprian Pinkham. Pinkham was superintendent of education for the Protestant public schools of Manitoba from 1871 to 1883. The probable loss of his correspondence during this period is lamentable. He was also chairman of the Board of Education for the North-West Territories in 1887.

Included within Dr. T.C.B. Boon's papers are the papers of Miss S. Leslie Bell, a nurse with Anglican missions in Saskatchewan and Alberta during the mid-1930s. She wrote several articles using the pseudonym "Graham Cathcart" and illustrated them with her own photographs. These articles are an excellent source for the social history of prairie missions during the Depression. Dr. Boon used many such acquisitions related to the lives of clergymen and missionaries as the basis for his book, *The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies*. The hundreds of index cards, research notes and galleys for Boon's book form part of his collection in the diocesan archives. A large diocesan photograph collection and a small collection of films also form part of the diocesan archives.

The project was able to show where there are gaps in the records, and action was taken to fill the gaps in several collections, thus increasing their administrative, legal and historical value.

The project's final task involved placing 1,078 standardized descriptions of collections into a computer database. Archivists of the dioceses of Athabasca, Brandon, Calgary, Edmonton, Keewatin, Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, and Saskatoon, as well as of the former diocese of Mackenzie River, participated in this final stage of the project by filling in forms describing their holdings, which were in turn converted into standardized language, ready for inputting. Biographies were researched and indexes prepared, leading to the publication in 1986 of Wilma MacDonald's *Guide to the Holdings of the Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province and Dioceses of Rupert's Land.*

In many ways, the project was another step in the direction of preserving the Anglican church's records in Rupert's Land. However, it is important to ensure that future additions to the diocesan and provincial collections are arranged and described, boxed and inventoried; that the collections receive conservation attention; and, that official records are regularly deposited.

Officials of the Anglican church have always known that the Rupert's Land archives are valuable. However, this view has to be translated into ongoing archival support. A great many genealogical inquiries and requests for verification of births, marriages, and death dates are answered by staff members of the Anglican Centre, and yet relatively few researchers are aware of the rich historical value of the diocesan archives.

In 1984 a federal grant was awarded to St. John's College for the purpose of creating its own archives. Three students were chosen to catalogue the abundance of material which had been previously stored in closets and the basement of the college. Under the guidance of Chris Hackett a wealth of administrative, legal and historical documents was revealed. They relate to the history of Winnipeg, education in Manitoba, the Diocese of Rupert's Land, and in particular to the administrative bodies of St. John's College, as well as students and faculty members. Accessioned collections include wardens' papers dating from 1877, St. John's College Council minutes dating from 1855, and alumni papers from 1881. One year of archival funding was inadequate to bring under control this large and varied collection, but Hackett assisted by Chris Melnick and Bob Hole produced a draft computer listing of the collections they had processed. They also heightened the awareness of college officials to the plight of their valuable collection and encouraged the donation of additional materials to ensure the preservation of the college's history.

No more work was done until the summer of 1987 when a provincial grant was received and the remainder of the archival material was catalogued upon the premise that the St. John's archival collection would be transferred to the PAM for the purpose of proper storage.

In the fall of 1987 over 17 metres of St. John's College records were transferred to "temporary storage" in the PAM. Joanne Kennedy, with the assistance of Dr. Vera Fast and Wendy Owen, prepared the *User's Guide to St. John's College Archives* to enable researchers to gain access to the college's records while they are in temporary storage.

In the period 1985-1986, volunteers performed various tasks at the diocesan archives under the direction of Mr. D.A. Thompson, registrar. These included the typing of a descriptive in-house finding aid which had been prepared during the 1984 project, and the implementation of a records management system for filing documents pertaining to each parish in the diocese. Under the direction of successive diocesan archivists, Anita Schmidt and Stephen Sharman, the diocesan archives has expanded its storage facilities to accommodate the ever increasing deposit of materials, and the staff look forward to handling more research enquiries. The archivists have been guided in their work by a new canon on archives which was approved by general synod in 1986. The regular deposit of official synod records, as well as private manuscripts created by bishops and church officials in the diocese, is essential to the preservation of a full record of the life and activity of the Diocese of Rupert's Land.

Similarly, the official records of the provincial synod, as well as the private manuscripts of archbishops and provincial officials, need to be regularly deposited in the archives of the ecclesiastical province of Rupert's Land to ensure as complete a record as possible is preserved for future generations. Such records as: minutes of meetings, correspondence, journals, diaries, certificates, photographs, sound recordings, architectural drawings, maps, plans, annual reports and newsletters have important evidential and informational values, and financial statements, deeds, mortgages and trust/endowment certificates have important legal values, and they all constitute part of the archival records. Church officials are encouraged to seek information on archival procedures, as well as advice on proper storage procedures through consultation with the archivist.

Finally, a word on "conservation." As stated earlier, conservation work was beyond the scope of this project. However, some recommendations were made on conservation measures to be taken in the future, through making notes on archival accession forms and in written memos. Microfilming the older parish registers would ensure the preservation of statistics such as parishioners' birth, confirmation, marriage and death dates, and other genealogical data, before this information is lost forever as a result of the wear and tear of use on the originals. Following the microfilming of such fragile registers, the originals should be safely stored in the archives and the microfilm reels alone used by researchers and staff. An added expense to the diocesan archives would be the purchase of a microfilm reader, but the added benefit of owning a microfilm reader would be that it opens up the possibility of linking in with the inter-institutional loan network. This would greatly benefit researchers who live a long distance from other archives, as well as local researchers. But what is most critical, it would preserve the church's older parish records which are fading or disappearing through disintegration of crumbling parish registers.

Action must be taken for the long-term storage of diocesan archival materials, by providing a proper temperature and humidity controlled environment for the custody of these records. Such conservation decisions ought to be made as soon as possible to ensure the survival of the church's administrative, legal and historical records for future generations.

NOTE

Portions of this paper appeared in *Archivaria* 22 (Summer 1986): 246-51.

5

The Public Institution as Church Archivist: Anglican and Other Church Records

Keith Stotyn

The Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA) became official repository for the archives of the Anglican dioceses of Edmonton, Athabasca and the now disbanded Mackenzie River in 1971. Since that year similar arrangements have been made with eight other religious communities, large and small. It has, on the whole, been a profitable relationship for the churches, the PAA and its researchers. The churches solve their records problems, the PAA fulfils its mandate to preserve records of historical importance to the province and researchers get access to one of the largest and most ecumenical collections of church records in the country.

The Church Archives Collection is, in fact, one of the strengths of the PAA holdings.[1] Most of Canada's public institutions have developed acquisition specialties, which are rapidly reflected in their stacks and search rooms. Although they can usually point to a clearly defined mandate which accounts for the presence of such a prominent category of records, specialties almost always occur through a conjunction of archivist and circumstance. At the PAA in 1968, three years before the conclusion of its first church archives agreement, the conjunction was particularly providential for church archives. The PAA at that time was only five years old and had, until the previous fall, been housed in a building previously used for fur storage; perhaps an appropriate place for preserving history in the old fur trade depot of Edmonton. The PAA had just moved to brand new quarters, blessed with elegant new offices, a commodious reading room and row after row of empty shelves. Empty shelves do something to an archivist — they make one want to fill them up.

The archivist who wanted to fill them up was the equally new provincial archivist of Alberta, Alan Ridge. He had arrived most recently from McGill University Archives, but more significantly, from a career in Great Britain, which had included work in the London County Council Archives.[2] It happened that a portion of the Diocese of Athabasca archives was already in residence at the PAA, acquired for a limited microfilming program which had been undertaken by Ridge's predecessor, Hugh Taylor. Ridge looked at those records with a new eye, an eye familiar with the contract between London Country Council and the Diocese of London, whereby the county administered the diocesan archives.[3]

The dioceses of Edmonton and Athabasca were contacted simultaneously to consider the deposit of their records in the PAA. Neither had any formal provisions to care for their vital records, both were concerned about this neglect, but until the PAA offer was made, no practical solution had suggested itself. The PAA proposal was certainly compelling:

> We will take all your non-current records, store them arrange them, list them, and provide research facilities for them, at no charge to you. All we ask is that you let anyone who wishes use them.

An offer hard to refuse and both accepted with alacrity.

The agreements which were signed[4] had to address the interests and concerns of both parties. For the dioceses, ownership of the records was the main question and the contracts stated that ownership remained with the depositors. Those contracts inaugurated a form of custody for the PAA which has come to be known as the "permanent loan." It is, admittedly, an arrangement built more on trust than on legal agreements. Since the PAA has never required any financial contribution for the archival care provided nor any provision to reimburse the archives for its time, facilities and supplies if the agreement is terminated, the arrangement depends on the depositor being so pleased with the services provided and so relieved to be spared the burden that they will not contemplate repossession. So far, this has been the case.

For the PAA, access to the records has been the main concern. Again, the agreements do address this issue, stating that records are open unless restrictions are applied by the depositor. But the administration of access policies has been dependent on the development of trust between the PAA and the dioceses, on the willingness of the dioceses to accept a liberal attitude toward the use of their records and on the sensitivity of PAA staff toward the legitimate privacies which churches place on certain aspects of their work. It is often the processing archivist who first discovers the kinds of records which carry with them questions of restrictions. For example, when an archivist encountered files relating to a minister's dismissal from his church, the PAA was forced to weigh the historical significance of the records (the case had became a very public *cause célèbre* in the denomination) against the private distress that they might still occasion by their release (the dispute had become so acrimonious that many hurtful things were said and written, bearing no direct relation to the main event).[5] Archivists, long-standing advocates of openness, have been obliged to accept the role of advisors to depositors on their restriction decisions, balancing the interests of depositor and researcher. Again, PAA experience has been excellent, producing conditions where a very small portion of records is subject to restrictions on access.

The resolution of these two points, ownership and access, reveal the important element of the whole process — that what was inaugurated by the agreements was a relationship between the dioceses and the PAA which influences all aspects of the administration of diocesan records. Moreover, the diocesan agreements have formed the foundation for our relationships with all of the other churches which have deposited records under contract. Through the years these relationships have been maintained so that the administration of the PAA can be effectively carried out. It has required attention in a number of critical areas.

The first of these is liaison with the church, itself. Since an archives is a growing thing, it is essential that archival records flow smoothly to the provincial archives. Archival programs are not automatic; they require constant attention. And the kind of arrangement into which churches have entered with the PAA is particularly fraught with hazards. Church concern about archives is often directly proportional to the weight of old records hanging over the heads of administrators. Because their interest in the office files is administrative rather than historical and because church finances are chronically limited, old records seldom engage their attention until the closets, disused offices and basements can accept no more castoffs. Seeing old records as "archives" becomes a strategy for getting rid of the uncontrolled burden of old files. Once that burden disappears into the PAA it is amazing how quickly the administrator's interest can dissipate and the closets start to fill again. It is a constant concern of PAA staff that the church not ignore its continuing production of archival records. A mechanism of communication is essential if the regular identification and transfer of archival records is to occur.

Regrettably, no very satisfactory mechanism has ever been established with the Anglican dioceses. Responsibility for the maintenance of archival procedures has rested with the bishop, often delegated to the dean. Ordinary transfers are handled by the synod secretary. Since archival issues are only one matter pressing on the bishop's attention they are easily neglected. The neglect has been reflected in an erratic deposit of records over time, often reduced to a trickle.

More successful approaches have been developed with other churches. The United Church, for example, had a functioning archives at the time the PAA took possession of its records — underfunded, understaffed, ill-housed, but part of the conference organization and complete with an archives committee to coordinate policy. The committee, made up of conference representatives and an archives convener from each presbytery in the province, provided an immediate contact within the conference organization as well as contacts in each of the presbyteries.[6] While transfers are still conducted through the conference office, the committee has served as an excellent conduit for maintaining conference involvement in its archives program.

Both the Alberta-Saskatchewan Province of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Alberta Synod, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada have appointed archivists to serve a similar function. A division of duties has occurred between the church archivist and the PAA. The church archivist is responsible for maintaining contacts with all the records creators in the church structure, identifying records to be transferred, arranging their transfer and staying current with the PAA activities. The PAA provides storage, physical and intellectual control, and reference services, both for the church and the public. The relationship with the oblates' archivist has become particularly amicable recently, as he has evolved into *de facto* records manager for the order. Recent structural changes within the order, involving the amalgamation of three oblate provinces, required deliberate involvement of the archivist to coordinate the centralization of the records of the old provincial administrations. The order has also established an effective storage area within its provincial house to serve as a records centre for semi-active records of the new province, prior to their transfer to the PAA. The order is interested in computerizing the control of its records; at the same time, the PAA is taking steps to computerize records of its oblate holdings. The prospect of coordinated records management and archival systems, though still at the fantasy stage, is a promising area of activity.

There is, of course, more involved than just developing good contact points. The very structure of the church body can have a great effect on the way the archival process will work. Here the Anglican church has a decided advantage. Its hierarchical tradition produces a high degree of compliance to synodical decisions. The agreement with synod to serve as the diocesan archives meets little or no resistance on the part of lower levels of the hierarchy. The United Church, too, has the advantage of a centralized structure to facilitate a conference-wide archival policy, though admittedly, United Church congregations seem more independence-minded than the average Anglican parish and must sometimes be persuaded to follow conference policy. Such an arrangement makes it reasonable for the PAA to deal with the central authority and allow it to administer its internal arrangements.

This centralizing tendency can, of course, be a two-edged sword. The PAA and Alberta Conference of the United Church initially met with resistance from General Council Archives in Toronto, which objected to what it saw as an alienation of church records from the church's control.[7] Only the very successful operation of the arrangement demonstrated its value. The Presbyterian Synod of Alberta, too, is having to come to terms with a desire for centralization on the part of the general assembly.[8]

Quite a different relationship develops when a senior body lacks the authoritative control of a centralized organization. In the Lutheran Church congregations are self-governing members of the Lutheran communion; synods have no ownership rights over congregational records.[9] The agreement with Alberta Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada only authorizes the PAA to serve as the repository for congregational archives; the synod can do no more than encourage its members to avail themselves of the arrangement.[10] As a result, the PAA takes a much more active role in contacting congregations, selling its services, surveying records, and establishing continuing deposit arrangements, congregation by congregation. Staff work closely with the synod archivist, keeping him continually informed of PAA initiatives and keeping him up to date on successes. His duties have tended to become those involved with general suasion while PAA tackles specific acquisition leads. The contract has become an umbrella agreement for individual congregational deposits.

Church structure also has an impact on the intellectual control which is provided for the archives. While the PAA offers many advantages for a church, one disadvantage is the initial unfamiliarity with the organizational structure of the church. Although an analysis of church organization is made, errors in reading the relative importance of a level or body within the church can be hazardous. For example, archives staff misunderstood the significance of the "pastoral charge" in relation to congregational records within the United Church, which led them to adopt a needlessly complex arrangement of the archives. Furthermore, despite experience with government records, the PAA is still operating with practices designed to control single deposit collections. The requirements of controlling numerous active archives within this institution are just beginning to be understood. The flexibility of computers is one answer to the melding of institutional controls with the descriptive requirements of growing church archives.

A minor problem in administering church records has been reconciling the sometimes conflicting ethics surrounding access to records. As professional archivists, PAA staff are dedicated to providing maximum accessibility to records of historical importance. The mandate of the PAA also states that making archival holdings available to researchers is an important function of the institution.[11] Churches, however, often do not see their archives as being primarily historical documents. Theological and moral scruples about providing unfettered access have to be addressed and accommodated within the publicly funded mandate of PAA to make records available. Just one example — several churches have reservations about the theological underpinnings of the genealogical work carried on by the Mormons. That has produced limitations on access to church registers, not to the point of total closure but to the point of making their use somewhat inconvenient, for both Mormon and non-Mormon alike. The Catholic church restricts use more than most; under canon law only the parish priest may authorize access to the parish registers. Such limitations, grounded as they are in the theology and policy of the church must be respected as much as the needs of the researchers. In general a close, trusting relationship between the church and the PAA has allowed the PAA to argue successfully for liberal access which has resulted in very few limitations on the use of records in our care.

After all this effort, what does the PAA actually offer to potential researchers? The contents of the Anglican records are well described in Wilma MacDonald's *Guide to the Holdings of the Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province and Dioceses of Rupert's Land.* In general terms, PAA offers a body of church records, 400 or more metres in extent, documenting religious life in the west from the 1840s to the present day, from Saskatchewan, Alberta and the Territories north of 60, from thirteen religious communities belonging to six religious denominations. The records address a myriad of researchers, from academic disciplines, public historians, amateur historians, genealogists, educators, journalists, Native rights advocates and many others. Nevertheless, they are still underused, especially for the kind of research for which they are best suited: examining the role which Christianity in general, and the various denominations and their missionaries have played in the developing society of western Canada. The records to do this have been well kept. For the churches, the PAA and the researchers it has been worth the effort.

NOTES

1. The Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA) presently preserve over 400 metres of church records; 4 percent of the institution's total holdings, 20 percent of its non-provincial government records. A majority of the collection is processed and available for research.
2. Curriculum vitae, Alan D. Ridge, provincial archivist, 23 May 1985 and personal conversations.
3. Memorandum of agreement, London County Council and the Bishop of London, [1950]. PAA, office file.
4. Memoranda of agreement, Alberta minister of Culture and synods of the dioceses of Athabasca and Edmonton, 21 January and 23 March 1971, respectively. PAA, office file.
5. Files concerning McDougall United Church and G. Rex Taylor, 1962-63. United Church of Canada, Alberta Conference Records, PAA. The files were opened after consultation with conference.
6. United Church of Canada, *The Manual* (Toronto: The Church, 1973), 107-8.
7. PAA, office file, Glenn Lucas, archivist-historian, United Church of Canada to Alan D. Ridge, provincial archivist, 8 June 1971.
8. Presbyterian Church in Canada, *Acts and Proceedings of the 111th General Assembly*, 1985, pp. 23, 334.
9. Joel W. Lundeen, *Preserving Yesterday for Tomorrow: A Guide to the Archives of the Lutheran Church in America* (Chicago: The Archives, 1977), 74.
10. Conversations with synod bishops and archivists, 1979 - date.
11. PAA, office file, Annual Report for 1985-86.

6

Anglican Missionaries as Agents of Acculturation: The Church Missionary Society at St. Andrew's, Red River, 1830-1870

Robert Coutts

Over the last two decades the writings of a number of western Canadian historians have emphasized the internal factors which helped to shape both fur trade and Red River society in the nineteenth century. In an attempt to explain reasons for continuity and change within these communities attention has focussed upon such subjects as ethnicity, kinship and the establishment of a social and sexual hierarchy.[1] Demographic studies,[2] the analysis of ethnic persistence and the pursuit of racial or ethnic roots, or what cultural historians and anthropologists have called "ethnogenesis," have tended to dominate these perspectives.[3]

This emphasis upon internal social and cultural forces, of attempting to define the nature of "fur trade society" as the key to understanding the development of the west over two and half centuries, has been motivated in part by reaction against the traditional and outdated views inherent within the old metropolitan and frontier schools of Canadian history. In a 1981 article in *Prairie Forum* entitled "The Historiography of the Red River Settlement, 1830-1868," historian Frits Pannekoek charged that it was only the frontier school, with its "constant attempt to justify Confederation" which (to that point at least) had paid much attention to the history of Red River.[4] Pannekoek argued that fewer studies were needed which dealt with the "external influences" acting upon Red River and more which concentrated upon the demographics and "internal dynamics" of the community.[5] To some degree, Red River historians have heeded Pannekoek's call. Much of the research over the last decade has concentrated upon such topics as racial origins, ethnic boundaries and the interrelationship of the colony's European and mixed blood communities. Generally, Red River is characterized as an isolated and subsistence based community defined and constrained within the context of a larger exchange economy. Tension arose, according to these perspectives, with the attempts by mixed blood peoples to "adapt" to changing circumstances in the west and how, as a people, the Métis endeavoured to survive culturally while being marginalized politically.

But to concentrate almost exclusively upon the "internal dynamics" operating within this society is to ignore the broad patterns of economic organization which had a major impact upon Red River, and indeed all of the fur trade throughout the historic period. While ethnic persistence, for example, might be an interesting sidelight to the study of a community such as Red River, the primary focus should be upon the role of European colonialism and imperialism and how these forces shaped the west to suit their own purposes. The study of one such colonialist institution, the Anglican church and its Church Missionary Society (CMS) representatives at St. Andrew's parish in the Red River colony, reveals a great deal about the particular role of mission societies in the expansion and consolidation of the British empire in the nineteenth century. Through the promotion of a strongly Anglo-Christian ethic, the Anglican church at St. Andrew's represented an external colonial force concerned with the extension of European economic dominance over an indigenous Native culture. The church played an important role in the process of socialization in Red River, a rigidly stratified and highly regulated colony established by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) as an internal provisioning centre in the fur trade.

The arrival of the CMS in 1820 had a major effect upon Native peoples in Red River. Over the years, much has been written concerning the introduction of missions to Rupert's Land but until recently most studies have done little more than chronicle the extension of Christian influence throughout the west.[6] There is implicit in such narratives a reluctance to view the Christianizing process within a larger political and cultural framework. More recently, scholars have scrutinized the particular motivations which lay behind this process and have attempted to assess the impact of missions upon an indigenous society. According to Cornelius Jaenen, historians must be sensitized to the challenge missions posed to Native societies. "The intrusion of Christianity," he writes, "together with other components of European cultural contact, undermined traditionalistic native belief systems, challenged their world view and their harmonious integration of religion to the ecosystem."[7] To understand this process it is important to view the individual mission such as St. Andrew's as more than simply an instrument to facilitate the spread of the gospel to so-called "heathen" peoples. In fact, the mission became the organizational mechanism through which the missionary challenged the Native's world view. It served as an aggressive promoter of Anglo-Christian values, moral assumptions and religious culture defined within some form of nationalism or imperialism.[8] At St. Andrew's, a fledgling community of Orkney-born and English-speaking mixed blood former servants of the HBC, these values were pursued through an unyielding emphasis upon European agricultural practices, education and an evangelical quest for spiritual "rebirth" and "renewal."

Originally known as the "lower settlement" and later the Grand Rapids parish, St. Andrew's was first settled in the latter part of the 1820s. Former HBC tripmen and traders relocated their families on the long narrow river lots which bordered the Red River near the Rapids. The HBC regulated land grants in the new settlement, usually allotting property on the basis of rank. Each lot had a depth of approximately two miles, its river frontage considered necessary for access to wood, water, ice, transportation and commerce. Settlers were allowed to harvest the wild hay growing on a proscribed property adjacent to their river lots, as well as controlled access to the hay of what became known as the "common."

The nature of adaptive economic strategies within St. Andrew's parish reflected the particular realities of life in Red River in the first half of the nineteenth century. Families at the Rapids engaged in a mixed, or what W.L. Morton labelled a "hybrid" economy, of farming, hunting, fishing and seasonal freighting for the HBC.[9] It was a regimen necessary for survival with settlers forced to restrict cultivation due to such factors as climate, a rudimentary agricultural technology, and a lack of external markets. Though the HBC purchased grain from the settlers it never reached the level necessary to create a thriving agricultural community in Red River. By diversifying their interests and taking advantage of complementary economic opportunities, mixed blood families in St. Andrew's pursued a rational and practical solution to the greatest problem facing the colony; the problem of scarcity. The pemmican industry, hunting wild game, gathering fish from the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and seasonal wage labour with the HBC characterized the economy of the parish and represented not a "love of the chase" but an adaptive strategy that was both sensible and profitable.

The view of a mixed economy as indicative of what Morton later referred to as the clash between "civilization" and "barbarism" was first advanced by the CMS.[10] Like other conservative elements in Red River society, the missionaries considered agriculture an important catalyst in the achievement of a Christian community removed from what they believed were the destabilizing social and economic traditions of the fur trade.

To properly assess the impact of the church at St. Andrew's it is essential that these early Anglican missionaries be placed within the broader context of nineteenth century European political and cultural hegemony. The CMS reflected the particular Anglo-Christian values of its homeland and remained attached to its institutions and philosophies. A colonialist ethic characterized the interaction between missionaries and native peoples. The supremacy of the Anglo-European model provided the rationale behind the church's attempt to bring about drastic social and cultural change in St. Andrew's and throughout Rupert's Land. The missionary was in the forefront of this campaign. A committed agent of acculturation, he was a product of a worldwide organization concerned with the promotion of a rigid and circumscribed social theory. The missionary's attitude toward Native culture was influenced to a large degree by his belief that all men represented a part of the divine image and were therefore members of a single human family. Native peoples lagged behind Europeans on the path to "civilization" but through the gospel could eventually achieve the level of cultural development found in Great Britain. British society, the Victorian missionary believed, was morally obligated by virtue of its superiority to aid in the development of more primitive societies.

Trained in dealing with Native cultures, the Protestant missionary in Red River enjoyed financial and spiritual support from a group of wealthy and powerful, evangelically motivated Englishmen. Since the end of the eighteenth century the evangelical movement, a reaction against the ecclesiastical rigidity of the traditional Anglican church, had grown in popularity and played an increasingly important role in the establishment of Protestant missions throughout the empire. At St. Andrew's the journals of missionaries such as William Cockran and J.P. Gardiner communicate a strongly evangelical spirit as evidenced by the promotion of such practices as prayer meetings, spiritual lectures and pastoral visits.

The CMS mission at St. Andrew's was originally established in 1829 by William Cockran. Possessed of a strong background in farming and animal husbandry, he was described by one of his superiors at the CMS training school at London's Islington College as being of "low origin. . . his manners unpolished [and] his dialect broad and vulger [*sic*] even for a Scotchman."[11] Ordained less than one week before his departure for Red River, Cockran was appointed in 1825 as assistant chaplain to the HBC. A dispute with David Jones, the senior Anglican missionary at Red River, over the importance of the mission farm and the communication of an agrarian ethic to the settlement's Native and mixed blood residents, led Cockran to establish a new mission at the Rapids in 1829. There he built a small wood structure that served as a church, school and parsonage. The next year Cockran began construction of a large Red River frame church which was completed in the spring of 1832.[12]

Since the tenure of the first Anglican missionary in Red River, John West (who shortly after his arrival had proceeded to alienate HBC Governor George Simpson, along with most of the other HBC officers in Red River), the CMS had been reluctant to antagonize the HBC by expanding its Red River mission beyond the Forks. Cockran's desire to shed his chaplain duties in favour of mission work at the Rapids was looked upon with disfavour by Simpson who considered the missionary troublesome and disruptive to HBC control in Red River. The CMS's reluctance to fund his mission at the Rapids did not sit well with Cockran. In July 1833 he wrote the committee accusing them of being preoccupied with "the growth of your own purses and families," and lacking "a zeal for God unequal to that of the despised missionary."[13] His antipathy towards the society was short lived, however. Not long afterwards he wrote back apologizing for his accusatory conduct, and promising to redouble his efforts to convert the local mixed blood population.[14]

A key part of Cockran's evangelizing efforts in the lower settlement was the mission farm, first established at St. Andrew's in 1830. He strongly believed agriculture to be the major catalyst in the introduction of an Anglo-Christian world view to the local population, hoping to lead the English-speaking mixed bloods from what he called the "vagaries of the hunt."[15] Cockran constructed a grist mill, built a barn and stable, and kept about thirty head of cattle. Wheat, barley, potatoes and a few vegetables were cultivated. Although the farm expanded quickly, tripling in size from seven to twenty acres between 1830 and 1833, it was ultimately unsuccessful. Heavy rains, insects, early frosts, and a destructive prairie fire in 1839, were instrumental in keeping crop yields low throughout the 1830s. By 1847 only twenty-nine acres were under the plow[16] and eventually half the farm was leased to a "respectable tenant."[17] But there were reasons other than bad weather to account for the farm's failure. Pannekoek has argued that the lack of success of Protestant mission farms in the west could be traced to the church's belief in the inferiority of the Native and mixed blood and the missionaries' inability to change their idyllic concept of agriculture to suit the harsh environment of the prairies.[18] Such was the case at St. Andrew's. Cockran, and to some extent his successors, attempted to achieve an agricultural operation that was not suited to the climate in Red River, the rudimentary techniques of cultivation, and the backwardness of farm technology that existed in the colony prior to 1870. While curates such as Robert James and James Hunter acknowledged the role of the mission farm, William Cockran viewed the operation as central to the inculcation of a European agrarian ethic. With his departure in 1846 the farm declined and much of the land was later sold off to local settlers.

Along with agriculture, education played an integral part in the process of conversion for the CMS at St. Andrew's. Cockran's school at the Rapids taught what the missionary referred to as "practical" skills: carpentry, animal husbandry, horticulture, spinning and weaving. These were necessary, he believed, so that a settler might develop a skill that could provide an alternative to the fur trade. For the St. Andrew's minister, the "pitiful life" of the trade, as he described it, prevented evangelization by removing the "heathen" from the settled community where he was more easily influenced by the church.[19]

To understand the role of the CMS at St. Andrew's it is important to understand the CMS's relationship with the HBC in Red River prior to 1870. Church historians have traditionally emphasized the apparent clash of ideology which existed between missionary and trader, and their pursuit of goals that, on the surface at least, appeared irreconcilable. Historian Arthur Thompson, for instance, characterized the arrival of the missionaries in Rupert's Land as "the herald of advancing civilization and settlement" which, he argued, spelled doom for the fur trade.[20] Such a representation of church/HBC relations fits neatly into the particular views of Marcel Giraud (and later W.L. Morton) which describe Red River society before 1870 as delicately balanced between "civilization" and "barbarism."[21] Within this paradigm, the fur trade is characterized as an unsophisticated, "primitive" economic system not encumbered by any elaborate legal or social structure. In contrast, the term "civilization" is used to describe a sedentary community which enjoys a more highly diversified economy as well as a relatively sophisticated legal and social organization for the regulation and protection of a mutually interdependent people.[22]

But while individual missionaries such as William Cockran clashed with the commissioned gentlemen in Red River, the larger relationship between the Anglican church and the HBC in the colony cannot be characterized as one that was by definition antagonistic. Even Cockran, who railed against the HBC's pursuit of profits, or what he described as the "gathering of filthy lucre," understood the advantages offered by an alliance of church and HBC in Red River.[23] To a large extent, the success of the CMS mission there was dependent upon this alliance. Although the HBC frequently attempted to undermine the aspirations of the church, and George Simpson used his influence to restrict CMS initiatives outside the settlement, the two concerns shared a common view of Red River. For the HBC, the church represented an instrument for social order through a zealous promotion of agriculture, education and religious culture. The growing population of mixed bloods who retired to St. Andrew's and Red River posed a threat to the HBC's monopoly in Rupert's Land. The church, therefore, was viewed by the HBC as an agent of acculturation, as a means by which potential competitors could be effectively controlled and channelled into such supportive pursuits as farming and the provision of contract labour. Moreover, a settled community of part-time agriculturalists was forced to purchase goods from the HBC saleshops at prices which could be arbitrarily set by the monopoly.

Although at times highly critical of the fur trade, CMS clergy realized that the HBC could facilitate their work in Red River by guaranteeing a more or less stable base of population within the settlement. While the two organizations clashed over the establishment of new missions outside of Red River, they shared a collective vision of how that particular community was to be structured and regulated. Both the church and the HBC viewed themselves as the elite, providing direction to a larger population of Scottish and French mixed bloods. Through representation on the Council of Assiniboia, the church was able to exercise social and political control and help the HBC, along with the "principal settlers," regulate Red River's lower orders.

The alliance of church and HBC in Red River was most evident in the context of the dispute over free trade. Rather than expressing solidarity with the economic rights and aspirations of their mixed blood parishioners, the Anglican clergy viewed the dispute as a challenge to authority in Red River, a challenge which might ultimately undermine their own influence within the community. Even Cockran subscribed to this viewpoint. While opposed to the fur trade, and to some degree ostracized by his clerical peers in Red River, the St. Andrew's minister considered the agitation for free trade to be disruptive of social order in the parish and the result of the intrigues of the Catholic church.[24] Moreover, the minister tried to discredit the free traders' challenge to HBC authority within the parish by endeavouring to convince his congregation that the crisis was no more than a "popish plot" and that a Protestant's soul was in mortal danger if he allied himself for any reason with the Métis-Catholic faction within the settlement.[25] Ultimately, the free trade challenge revealed not only the alliance of church and HBC in Red River, but the former's determination to move away from its traditional basis of support within the parish.

The transition to a more traditional Anglican episcopacy at St. Andrew's became clearly evident in the 1850s. Cockran had departed St. Andrew's in 1846 (although he returned briefly in 1853) and in 1855 James Hunter was appointed as the new resident minister at the Rapids. While Cockran possessed considerable skills as a farmer, Hunter was the product of a more formal education with training in both medicine and law.[26] Hunter's previous work translating the gospel into Cree at Cumberland House was not only evidence of the new minister's superior intellect, but an indication of a perspective that was decidedly ecclesiastical.

The evolution of St. Andrew's from a missionary outpost to a rural parish was evident in the construction during this period of new and impressive stone buildings to replace the original wood church and parsonage. The stone church, which is still standing, was completed in 1849 while the adjacent rectory was finished in 1854. The 1858 Hime photographs of the new church and rectory depict solid stone structures that have the look of permanence and solemn Victorian respectability. Built of locally quarried limestone, these buildings were once considered among the best in all of Red River.

Also indicative of the transition within the parish was a de-emphasis upon the teaching of practical skills such as carpentry and weaving, the decline of the church farm, and the organization of such Victorian-styled groups as the St. Andrew's Temperance Society, the Church Missionary Juvenile Association, and what the *Nor'Wester* described as a "vocal music" club which met every Saturday at the St. Andrew's schoolhouse.[27] An increasing emphasis upon decidedly "academic" subjects at the parish school — physical geography, history, geometry and the natural sciences — illustrate some of the changes occurring at St. Andrew's after 1850. The type of textbooks used in the parish school also changed. Whereas Cockran possessed only simple catechisms in the early years of the mission, by 1853 the Reverend William West Kirkby was ordering the following texts for the parish school: Martin's *Illustrated Natural Philosophy*, Tate's *Principals of Geometry* and Euclid's *Elements*, as well as Heley's *Grammar Exercises*.[28] In his journey through Red River in 1857 the explorer Henry Youle Hind remarked that the sixty children in attendance at St. Andrew's behaved "with a decorum and attention not often to be surpassed in the primary schools of this or the European continent."[29] Moreover, in this same period James Hunter created a parish vestry to look after church affairs and to help raise money to support religious activities in the parish. The transition to "respectability" seemed almost complete when in 1878 the minister at St. Andrew's, Richard Young, described to the CMS in London how he was raising money throughout the district to help support "liberated African children."[30] These changes demonstrate the evolution of the church at St. Andrew's from an agriculturally based frontier mission to an institution increasingly concerned with ecclesiastical form, political and social control, and the establishment of monolithic social hierarchy.

The 1850s saw the beginning of the campaign in Red River for Canadian annexation. Captain William Kennedy, a St. Andrew's resident and an embittered former employee of the HBC, organized meetings throughout the parish to agitate for political change. Kennedy succeeded in attracting James Hunter to his cause. The St. Andrew's missionary, along with the rest of the Anglican clergy in Red River, had realized that the HBC could no longer effectively govern the settlement. Bishop Anderson and his successor Robert Machray, believed that the Anglican church's hegemony in Red River, and throughout Rupert's Land, would be enhanced by an influx of Anglo-Ontarian, Protestant settlers in the west. Writing to CMS headquarters in London in 1857 Hunter maintained that "our missionaries will never prosper under the Company's rule."[31] New immigrants, the Anglicans believed, would quickly outnumber the Métis in Red River and aid the clergy's campaign to defeat the Catholic church's influence in the settlement. In addition, the displacement of a fur trade economy by market agriculture and by petty bourgeois entrepreneurs would see Protestant residents in Red River tied more securely to the church.

Led by Bishop Machray, who had arrived in the settlement in 1865, the Anglican church in Red River opposed the provisional government of Louis Riel. While publicly appearing to remain neutral, the Bishop was privately urging his Red River clergy to incite their congregations against the Métis leader. At St. Andrew's J.P. Gardiner chose to maintain a low profile throughout the proceedings. He warned Machray that CMS regulations cautioned against a missionary's involvement in political matters, but his objections were overruled by the bishop. But if the Anglican clergy in Red River disagreed among themselves over tactics, they all agreed that the resistance represented a threat to their dominant position in Red River society. "There is little doubt," wrote Gardiner in his annual letter to the CMS in 1870, "that the instigation of the rebellion was intended to make this a Roman Catholic colony."[32]

The sympathies of the mixed blood population at St. Andrew's remained divided over the course of the ten month protest. On the one hand, they listened to the counsel of their clergy who promoted the myth that the peoples' interests would best be served by a new Canadian authority. On the other, these settlers possessed an underlying sympathy with the aspirations and traditions of the Métis in Red River, a common heritage forged in the days of the hunt and the fur trade. Contrary to Pannekoek's belief in the existence of a sectarian and racial conflict in Red River between the Métis and English mixed bloods, Irene Spry argues that the fundamental divisions within Red River society were not racial but economic. Social conflict, she maintains, occurred between the

> well-to-do gentry. . . of the Hudson's Bay Company. . . the clergy. . . [along with the] prosperous merchants. . . and the mass of unlettered unpropertied natives of the country.

This first division roughly paralleled a second; the division between those committed primarily to agriculture and those who engaged in a mixed economy of farming, freighting, hunting and trading.[33] Given these divisions, one could speculate that the differing attitudes among the St. Andrew's mixed bloods toward Canadian annexation paralleled economic inequalities and class divisions within the parish. Historian Doug Sprague maintains that because the resistance represented a quest for property rights on behalf of the unofficial owners of river lot properties, those mixed bloods who held secure title to their property were the ones most likely to support the Canadian party in Red River. Conversely, he argues, the people who took up arms on the side of the insurgents were likely to be hunters and tripmen without title.[34] Their concern with land rights, along with what historians have referred to as "corporate" or "cultural" rights, formed the core of the 1869-1870 resistance. At St. Andrew's the church helped to convince the land secure "principal settlers" that they could maintain their status in the face of the Protestant, Ontarian immigration that was to come after 1870. And while this group ultimately found their former position and influence usurped by incoming Canadian immigrants who pursued the creation of a hinterland agricultural economy in the west under the direction of the national policy, it was to a large extent Red River's lower classes who were dispossessed of their traditional river lot properties. The transition of St. Andrew's and of old Red River from a mixed blood community to a Euro-Canadian colony, a transition that was actively encouraged by the CMS, was largely complete by 1885.

The history of the CMS in a community such as St. Andrew's remains important for what it can tell us about how colonialist forces attempted to control and manipulate indigenous Native cultures in the west. As external agents of acculturation the missionaries hoped to bring about drastic religious, social and cultural change at St. Andrew's, replacing traditional customs and behaviours with a new society of settled Christian agriculturalists. Ultimately, the demise of the old colony was not the result of a Stanliest clash of cultures that considered an "inferior" mixed blood society to be doomed by the arrival in the west of a "superior" Euro-Canadian culture. And although historians seem preoccupied with delineating the ethnic or racial "boundaries" that developed in a community such as Red River in the nineteenth century, (and how politically marginalized groups managed to survive with some of their culture intact),[35] they should not lose sight of the larger processes by which an Anglo-Canadian hegemony was eventually consolidated in the west.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980); Jennifer Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980); Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer Brown, eds., *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985).
2. See, for example, Frits Pannekoek, "A Probe into the Demographic Structure of Nineteenth Century Red River," in L.H. Thomas, ed., *Essays on Western History* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1978).

3. See D.N. Sprague, "The Cultural Bias of Métis Studies," *Prairie Fire* 8, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 66-67.
4. Frits Pannekoek, "The Historiography of the Red River Settlement, 1830-1868," *Prairie Forum* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1981): 83.
5. Ibid.
6. The standard and most complete history of the Anglican church in the west is still considered to be Thomas Boon's *The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies: A History of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land and Its Dioceses from 1820 to 1950* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962).
7. C.J. Jaenan, "Missionary Approaches to Native People," in *Approaches to Native History in Canada* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, 1977), 5.
8. Ibid., 6.
9. W.L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," *Canadian Historical Review* 30, no. 4 (December 1949): 305-21.
10. W.L. Morton, "Introduction," in *The London Correspondence Inward From Eden Colvile* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956), cxv.
11. John Foster, "William Cockran," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 134.
12. Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), Church Missionary Society Archives (CMSA), A77, Journal of William Cockran, 1 May 1832.
13. Ibid., William Cockran to the secretaries, 25 July 1833.
14. Ibid., 5 September 1833.
15. Ibid., A78, Journal of William Cockran, 14 September 1837.
16. Ibid., John Smithurst to secretaries, 27 October 1847.
17. Ibid., Robert James to Rev. Davies, 6 August 1847.
18. Frits Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Zions for the Western Indian," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 14, no. 3 (1972): 97.
19. PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to secretaries, 25 July 1833.
20. Arthur Thompson, "John West: A Study of the Conflict Between Civilization and the Fur Trade," *The Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 12, no. 3 (September 1970): 47.
21. Marcel Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, 2 vols., trans. by George Woodcock (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986), vol. 2, 149-204.
22. Jaye Goossen, "The Relationship of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land, 1821-1860, with a Case Study of Stanley Mission under the Direction of the Rev. Robert Hunt" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1975), 1.
23. PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to secretaries, n.d., August 1832.
24. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, D.5/26, folio 553, William Cockran to George Simpson, 21 November 1849.
25. Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area, 1818-1870" (Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1973), 99.
26. F.A. Peake, "The Achievements and Frustrations of James Hunter," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 19 (1977): 139.
27. *The Nor'Wester*, 14 June 1860.
28. PAM, CMSA, A92, W.W. Kirkby to Major Straith, 17 October 1853.
29. H.Y. Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857* (Edmonton: M.L. Hurtig Publishers, 1971), 197.
30. PAM, CMSA, A103, Richard Young to secretaries, 17 December 1878.
31. Ibid., A91, James Hunter to secretaries, 8 April 1857.
32. Ibid., A99, J.P. Gardiner to secretaries, 30 November 1870.

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33. Irene Spry, "The Métis and Mixed-Bloods of Rupert's Land Before 1870," in Peterson and Brown, *The New Peoples*, 112-13.
34. D.N. Sprague and P.R. Mailhot, "Persistent Settlers: The Dispersal and Resettlement of the Red River Métis, 1870-1885," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 17, no. 2 (1985): 2-3.
35. For a discussion on the subject of how Métis studies rarely focus on the issue of conflict in the analysis of ethnic persistence see Sprague, "Cultural Bias," 66-67.

7

Father Cockran and His Children: Poisonous Pedagogy on the Banks of the Red

George van der Goes Ladd

The expression, "poisonous pedagogy" was coined by the Swiss psychoanalyst Alice Miller.[1] It refers to "traditional" Western methods of child rearing and education. It implies a negative evaluation of these methods. It makes claim to a privileged standpoint, and "enlightened" view of the matter, from which it is appropriate to evaluate the pedagogy of our ancestors.

The present study is an essay in psychohistory, as this is characterized by Peter Loewenberg: a method which "combines historical analysis with social science models, humanistic sensibility, and psychodynamic theory and clinical insights to create a fuller, more rounded view of the past." The pedagogy of Archdeacon William Cockran is evaluated using the technique of Dr. Miller with the focus placed on Cockran's mission to the Red River Natives as a striking instance of his pedagogy. This restricted focus should contribute to "a more rounded view of the past" of Red River. To locate Red River pedagogy and its practitioners in their wider social context would require a psychohistorical work of the scope of Philip Greven's *The Protestant Temperament*. Thus such questions as, for example, whether Cockran was a populist or an aspiring elitist will not be considered. Chapters 6 and 9 of *Shall We Gather at the River?* provide a perspective on Cockran's place in this social context.[2]

This paper begins with a concrete and inductive approach to the essentials of poisonous pedagogy — a reflection on the pedagogy of English-speaking Red River, as illustrated in the writings of one of its products, the Reverend Alfred C. Garrioch. This reflection contains some incidental reference to Cockran. Since Garrioch was a boy in "the days of Archdeacon Cochrane [*sic*] and his fellow patriarchs,"[3] Cockran's image was potent in the pedagogical milieu in which he lived and moved and had his being. The focus here is precisely upon the young Garrioch's image of Cockran, and only incidentally upon the archdeacon himself.

This image of Cockran the father-pedagogue had two aspects — one was of an awesome protector; the other of a punitive disciplinarian. The first comes through in Garrioch's account of an evening service, held at the home of one Jack Anderson sometime in 1854. Since Garrioch was only six years old at that time, it was not Cockran's preaching that impressed him. The "great archdeacon's" sermon was simply "very, very long" and was probably the cause of the boy's going to sleep and nearly falling off his bench. What impressed him was Cockran's powerful paternal presence:

> He wound up as he always did with the words: "May God bless his word for his name's sake." By this time we were in pitchy darkness, and there was a beautiful appropriateness about it, when, from the spot where we had last beheld his stately form there came forth the sound of his voice as he announced the favourite evening hymn:
>
> 'Glory to Thee my God this night
> For all the blessings of the light.'"[4]

The congregation that night consisted of settlers who had followed Cockran from the settled parishes of Middlechurch and St. Andrew's on the Red to Portage la Prairie on the Assiniboine, a few miles beyond the jurisdiction of the Red River settlement's governor and council. Garrioch's mature assessment of the relationship that existed between these people and their minister appears to have been coloured by the image of Cockran that took shape in him on that and other childhood occasions:

> It must have been a great comfort for Archdeacon Cochrane [sic] in locating in this, his last charge, to know that his English-speaking congregation would be largely made up of those to whom he had been as a father. And they, on their part, nestled down into their new homes with a feeling of restfulness and confidence, fully persuaded that the prayers of good Archdeacon Cochrane [sic] were worth more to them than a stone wall against any who might devise their hurt.[5]

But the young Garrioch was fully aware that Cockran did not govern the new settlement by his prayers alone. In his book, *First Furrows*, Garrioch observes that Cockran had the reputation of being "the strongest man in the country" and reflects ruefully on his own childhood awareness that he was not destined to be any such thing:

> I fear, we of the rising generation received the impression that in the economy of the present dispensation there are occasions when the power of moral suasion can be made much more effective when it is backed up with the required muscular force, and the writer recalls many vain regrets in realizing that in the exercise of this reserve force he was destined to remain a feather-weight.

He notes that although Cockran generally demonstrated this reserve force in such constructive ways as lifting a heavy stone or log, "he did not lose sight of the moral effect it might have on such members of his flock as might be disposed to unruliness."[6] Cockran's displays of such prowess during the building of the St. Mary la Prairie parish church seem to have had precisely this effect upon the impressionable young boy.

Garrioch does not appear to have witnessed any of Cockran's famous "muscular encounters with bad men" that are "kept alive and related with pride by his people and their descendants."[7] What he did see with his own eyes was a "misunderstanding" between the archdeacon and his horse. He witnessed this quite unexpectedly while taking a break from shooting blackbirds in his father's grain field. It made such an impression on him that he was able to write a very circumstantial account of it some sixty-five years later. It seems that Cockran's bay horse Bob, who "had the reputation for being a cunning animal," came to a sudden halt in the middle of a good road. For a whole minute Cockran sat in the buggy and did nothing:

> Then he spoke to Bob, first kindly, then, after a slight pause, sternly; then he shook the reigns — Bob shook his head. Thereupon the Archdeacon alighted and releasing Bob from the shafts, *subjected him to corporal punishment* [author's emphasis]. The writer was all this time concealed in the grass behind a snake fence, instinctively feeling that the Archdeacon and Bob would prefer settling their misunderstanding without a witness. . . The story has a pleasant sequel. Bob had evidently learned how to *draw a conclusion* [author's emphasis] as well as a buggy, for when he had once more been reinstated between the shafts, and his master, gathering up the reins, sat in the buggy and said in a stentorian voice — "Go!" he went.[8]

Garrioch the superannuated Church of England clergyman seems to have taken impish delight in representing Cockran, the horseman, as a punitive pedagogue. He also seems to have repented, sometime later, of treating the archdeacon with such levity. In the expanded and "corrected" 1933 version of his narrative he replaces "subjected him to corporal punishment" with "gave him several sharp cuts with the whip."[9]

The young Garrioch seems to have felt safe at Portage la Prairie, and to that extent he was lucky. It is a great thing for a six-year-old to feel that his world is orderly and trustworthy. (One might even say that it is a human right.) But the order of the world at Red River and its environs was a painful one. If Garrioch's Cockran was powerfully protective, he was also powerfully punitive. He probably typified the parental and pedagogical figures who presided over the boy's upbringing. They will have done their best to form his character in a particular fashion, and they may not have cared greatly whether he found this congenial.

The sort of character they will have had in mind seems to have been found in the boy's grandfather William Garrioch, a sometime second trader at the Hudson's Bay Company's Swan River post, who taught in the parish day school at the Red River settlement in the 1820s. This is how Cockran described him in a letter to the secretaries of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), dated August 1829 or 1830.

> He has been a faithful servant to the Society. He has continued ever at his post, and diligently discharged his duties and ever manifested the greatest readiness to obey his superiors, and make himself useful to them, in every respect. He is pious, humble, unassuming, honest, and diligent and in every way calculated to fill the important situation which God in his providence assigned him.[10]

In fixing thus on William Garrioch's obedience Cockran was giving voice to the pedagogical consensus of nineteenth century Britain. "It might be argued," says James Walvin, writing of pain and punishment in English schools before 1870, "that obedience was seen as the greatest of all virtues in children and was to be incalculable by any means — subtle or brutal, institutional or private."[11]

The painful authoritarian and hierarchical order that struggled to take shape at Red River was undergirded by this pedagogical consensus. The consensus required a practical method — the one memorialized in Robert Burn's epitaph, "On a schoolmaster":

> Here lie Willie Michie's banes:
> O Satan, when ye tak him,
> Gie him the schoolin' o' your weans,
> For clever deils he'll mak 'em!

One of the more noteworthy local exponents of this method was John Macallum, who taught at the Red River Academy in the 1830s and 1840s. Macallum was an Aberdeen graduate who was ordained at Red River in 1844 by the bishop of Montréal. His punitive style as master and principal was, evidently, memorable. His former pupils (who included Garrioch's own mother and her sisters) gave Garrioch the impression that they believed their master "had their best interests at heart" and that "he was determined to give them a good education even if he had to pound it into them."[12]

The six-year-old, who felt safe with Cockran, was to become a transmitter of the pedagogy that formed him. In 1869, four years after Cockran's death, he became the third Garrioch to teach in the St. John's Parish day school. Many years later, in his writing about Portage and Red River, he digressed freely and a bit whimsically on the value of corporal punishment. These digressions contain a fairly pure indication of Red River pedagogical doctrine.

One of them is his defense of John Macallum, whom he respected as a great educator:

> So, whatever may be said about Mr John Macallum, this, at least, can never be said — that "he spared the rod and spoiled the child." In these days milder counsels prevail, and in the opinion of some, so also do the young people. Undoubtedly it is better to rule by love, but there are cases in which a little birch is useful. Give the dominie a free hand anyway, so that his conscientious pupils will know that he does not flog them because he can't nor because they don't deserve it, but because he respects their feelings and hates to do it.[13]

Another is a reflection on the outcry against the public flogging of a French Canadian at Red River in the 1830s.

> The public somehow have an ineradicable prejudice against the application of corporal punishment, most likely due to an instinctive feeling that if it be not seriously discouraged some day it may come painfully near home. So like the spectators at Fort Garry a century ago who cried out Bourreau! Bourreau! it may tolerate spanking the little offenders at home; but when they go to school it is with the notice to the teacher — "Hands off," and no wonder that when they leave school it is with some of them a case of "Hands up." And whether or not the intended victim is quick enough to "stick 'em up," should it happen that the gunman is apprehended, tried and condemned to be flogged, there will be found right here in Winnipeg those who will ask, what are we coming to?[14]

The pedagogical assumptions behind these reflections may be summarized as follows: children are by nature bad (rebellious); children must be educated to be good (unconditionally obedient); when children offend against the expectations of parents and teachers they are rebelling against them and their authority; the rebelliousness of children must be systematically broken, normally by corporal punishment, before they are big enough to overpower the pedagogues; this whole enterprise is for the children's own good; if these principles are effectively in place, society is safe.

This is not a bad summary of "poisonous pedagogy" as described by Alice Miller. It lacks only the explicit recommendation that the process begin at birth, so that the child might not know, or remember, what is going on. According to Dr. Miller, the following contraries are true — pedagogy serves the needs of pedagogues, not children. "For your own good" is a cover-up for the anxieties of insecure tyrants; children are entitled to affirmation and respect; traditionally "good" children are children who have been taught to deny their spontaneity, their vitality, their true selfhood; the exercise of power over the weak is self-perpetuating. Adults who have been subjected to traditional pedagogy will "get even" by dominating their own children and subordinates — and by being contemptuous toward weakness of all kinds; society is increasingly endangered by the vicious cycle of the exercise of power.These five propositions, distilled from Alice Miller's *For Your Own Good*, are the principles used to examine the pedagogy of William Cockran.

Cockran was an assistant schoolmaster somewhere in Nottinghamshire before he made application to the CMS.[15] His ordination by the bishop of London in 1825 enlarged greatly his sphere of responsibility. It placed him in a paternal relationship to most human beings — including many who would otherwise have been his seniors and superiors — at the Red River settlement. It is no wonder that he took up the stance of parent-pedagogue in relation to his charges, particularly those whom he regarded as racially and culturally inferior and in need of taming.

The royal road to an understanding of Cockran's pedagogy is the record of his missionary activity with Native people. On the soft shoulders of this road may be found the "many stories of the Archdeacon's muscular encounters with bad men" that are "kept alive and related with pride by his people and their descendants."[16] However much these stories may have been embellished or garbled in the telling, they have this in common — the bad men are always Native, and Cockran is chastising them as he would chastise a schoolboy. The following story, related by Robert B. Hill in his 1890 history of Manitoba, is typical.

It seems that a certain Quewe Den, a parishioner at St. Peter's Native settlement, had "taken up with another man's wife, refusing to contribute to the support of his early and legal spouse." Cockran, having "remonstrated" with him without effect, determined to take him in hand in proper schoolmasterly fashion:

> One memorable Sunday the Archdeacon said to his old officer, "John, go into the bush and cut me three withes, and bring them to the church." The service being over, it was customary for the male portion to gather

> outside where, seated on the grass smoking their pipes, private or public affairs became the theme of conversation. Calling his officer, he said, "John, bring those withes and follow me." Proceeding to where the men were sitting, he approached Quewe, and said, "I have asked you time and again to return to your legal wife, and allow this woman to return to her own husband. Now, I shall beat you until you promise to do so." In questions of morality the Archdeacon's fiat was law, from which there was no appeal. Seizing hold of Quewe, he requested John to give him a withe. . . . Then began a tussle. The Indian, who was a younger man and very powerful, resisted the Archdeacon's attempt at castigation to the utmost of his strength but it was soon evident that in the old man's hands his attempts were useless. In fact, to put it in common phrase, he had not the ghost of a show, and the Archdeacon belabored him there and then until he agreed to return to his legitimate wife.[17]

It has been said that the longer a memory lasts the more exuberant it becomes. Hill's telling of this anecdote is very exuberant indeed. But it conveys a global sense of what one learns in a more piecemeal fashion in the archives — that Cockran perceived and treated the Natives as rebellious children who needed to be tamed.

Cockran's ontology of "the Native" resembles the ontology of the child propounded by the authors of *A Godly Form of Household Government* (1621): "He hath a reat (wrong doing) heart and is altogether inclined to evil."[18] Cockran could discern

> nothing that the Indian possesses, but a naked body, a depraved mind, and a number of bad habits, that have not improved under European culture.[19]

Apart from the "bad habits," he perceived "the Indian" as the rough equivalent of the European infant, arrived straight from nature. Unfortunately "the Indian" had not been taken in hand by a European parent-pedagogue. His "inclination to evil" was a "sparkle" that had been suffered to "rage over and burn down the whole house."[20] And his consequent "bad habits" (which comprised what we would call "Native culture") constituted both an extra layer of original sin and a unique challenge to the European missionary-pedagogue. Cockran was the living proof of the old joke about the missionary who considered the "savages" to be at least twice as *fallen* as Europeans. It is his insistence on the unique depravity of "the Native" that marks his view of them as poisonous pedagogy in the guise of Christian theology.

In a letter to the CMS secretaries dated 30 July 1833 Cockran propounded a theology of mission that the theologically informed can only regard as grotesque:

> God made man for society, gave him knowledge of language and conversed with him himself: that he might give him a taste for society. In this state God wished man to abide. If man became as fierce and savage as the wild beast of the forest, the spirit of God can find no place in his bosoms. God will not make his abode with them. God passed a sentence upon man immediately after he sinned. The spontaneous fertility of the earth was withdrawn, thorns and thistles were brought into existence

> and allowed the ascendancy over useful produce. And it was added: In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return to the ground. To this part of the curse the human race submitted till the deluge, when God permitted the use of animal food. Then they began to forsake God altogether and divest themselves of every characteristic of man except the form. Had they had the power of transforming themselves; The figure would not have remained, among many savage tribes, till the present day. The savage says, not in his heart but aloud with his life, I will not submit to the degradation of earning my bread with the sweat of my brow; I will go forth with the beasts of the forest; join myself to them; exercise my authority over them, kill every one that comes in my way, and live upon them, when they fail I will kill my own progeny and eat them, and then lay down and die. (There are individuals all belonging to distinct families, in my neighbourhood, who have killed their relatives and eaten them.) Can we suppose that ever God will command any of his servants to run into the forest to catch those wild animals! I am persuaded not. And if any of his servants should be so zealous as to go unsent; He would as it were have to noose them, and bring them to me, or some other of my temperament to tame them. . . .[21]

One can wink at Cockran's ignorance of the evolution of culture and, in a pinch, forgive him for failing to understand the "old agreement" between Native people and the animal species, and the colonial causes of starvation cannibalism.[22] But one might well pause when he makes "the savage" say such things as "I will not submit to the degradation of earning my bread by the sweat of my brow." All this is, as the Freudians say, over determined. And it is more than a naive theologizing of the protestant work ethic. When Cockran asserts that the Natives are being perverse and rebellious simply by being what they are, and that God has appointed him to tame them, he writes as a European parent-pedagogue. The Biblical imagery is bent into the shape of a poisonous pedagogue's advice to a father whose son "insists on having his own way." As one such pedagogue put it,

> Such disobedience amounts to a declaration of war against you. Your son is trying to usurp your authority, and you are justified in answering force with force in order to insure his respect, without which you will be unable to train him.[23]

It is hardly surprising, then, that for Cockran the real seriousness of mission was pedagogy in the scholastic sense. It was in the school, and in the school alone, that "the Native" could be tamed.

The school was, in the first place, the means of taking the children away from their parents, whose want of pedagogical method scandalized Cockran. As he observed the child-rearing practices of local Native parents, the absence of the corporal punishments that a European sensitivity to "disobedience" would have required struck him as monstrous. The children were, he thought, corrupted by their mothers' indiscriminate affection and their fathers' indisposition to break their wills.

> The Indian and Half-Breed women are passionately fond of their Children, this shuts their eyes against all their failings and makes them foster all the vices of their Children, the very same as they nourish their bodies. Their Children are all the Children of rude nature, they grow up

> from infancy following the bent of their own inclinations without ever being thwarted in their desires or corrected for their faults. . . .[24]
>
> It is an unusual thing for a native to correct a child for any offence whatsoever. It is viewed as cruel and tyrannical to chastise Children. He will beat his wife without mercy on the slightest provocation, but his Children must grow up in every respect under the direction of nature with all her superstitious, unprofitable and malignant branches.[25]

The school was the place where Native children, in seclusion from the corrupting influences of their parents, were to submit to the yoke of discipline. Cockran intended his school at Grand Rapids (St. Andrew's) to be a school of discipline on two levels. Children were to learn to submit to the yoke of labour: "earning their bread by the sweat of their brow." (The boys were to learn farming, carpentry, weaving; the girls spinning, sewing, knitting, milking.) They were to learn this through submitting to the correction of the pedagogue. "Such a school," wrote Cockran, "must be under strict discipline if we are to ensure success. At the Rapids the parents allow us to correct their children and enforce all necessary subordination."[26]

Cockran's double-barrelled conception of "discipline" was not merely "colonial;" it was of a piece with the prevailing attitudes of British pedagogues in the nineteenth century. Edward Thring, "the famous reforming head of Uppingham," wrote: "Learning is *pain*, and unless the willingness to face the one pain is met by another pain there is no remedy."[27]

Cockran offers the following image of the taming that all this pain was supposed to effect:

> The Indian girls. . . . should be employed, that they might hereafter do their duty. . . . Stern formation amongst the females is absolutely necessary; they must be made to bear a part of the burden of life, for the increase of their virtue and the safety of their souls. They are dreadfully given to gossiping, whoring, and lieing [*sic*]. Industry alone can recover them from their evil ways and establish their minds in virtue.[28]

Each of the children at Grand Rapids whom Cockran proposed to tame had at least one parent of European or mixed blood. Further down the Red River, at the Native settlement, such a school was not yet possible in 1833. "The people are so rude and savage that they will not submit to discipline of any kind," he explained. His strategy was to establish such a school there when "as many have been established and acquired sober habits as to give a virtuous tone to the community, and raise religion and morality above the power of vice and impiety." In other words, as soon as there existed a community of adults who would permit the schoolmaster to beat their children.[29]

It does not seem to have occurred to Cockran in 1833 that the human reality of the children themselves might frustrate the early entrenchment of poisonous pedagogy in its full rigour. His journal entry for 26 November 1837 hints a bit obscurely that the encounter between Native children and European pedagogues could be lethal to the body as well as to the spirit:

> The enemies of truth always urge this argument, if you allow your children to be educated they are sure to die. . . . It is certain from the erratic habits of the people, and the delicacy of their constitution, they cannot endure the same confinement and close application as Europeans. They are frequently seized by a particular malady which they call "thinking long." When under this, if you cannot amuse them, and make them take exercise, they soon sicken and die.

This experience must have given Cockran pause, for he adds,

> At the Indian Settlement our discipline is very loose, we allow the children to hunt or fish whenever they are disposed, and I think we have greatly diminished the fatalities caused by it.[30]

There was another point at which Cockran's program invited frustration. If he showed a particular interest in the taming of Native *girls*, it may have been because of his peculiar lack of access to their mothers. He could play the pedagogue with their fathers by teaching them to farm — an enterprise that gave him some scope to throw his physical weight around. (There is evidence that he won the right to "trouble the ground" at Chief Peguis's Netley Creek encampment through sheer physical intimidation.) Neither the medicine man nor any of his followers could have had "the ghost of a show" with Cockran or his well-built Inuit servant. And they had "too much honour to make a general attack."[31] Besides, as has been seen, he felt free to deal in proper schoolmasterly fashion with Native *men* who offended his standards of moral rectitude.

Yet he lacked such pedagogical and disciplinary access to Native women. He had no housewifely skills to teach them, and Mrs. Cockran was sufficiently occupied with the schoolgirls. The accepted standards of his own culture forbade him to administer correction to an adult female not his wife. And he could not delegate the task to Native husbands, since the conscience of the CMS was sufficiently tender to discountenance wife-beating — even when the more robust conscience of the larger society was constrained to admonish his adult male converts to leave off wife-beating, even as he charged them to take up child-beating. And this, he feared, was to abandon the unfortunate females to being forever untamed. There are passages in Cockran's correspondence in which one hears the *cri du coeur* of the poisonous pedagogue whose will to tame has been frustrated:

> This subjects me to the most serious inconvenience at the Indian Settlement. The men strive to do their part, but as Christianity does not allow us to use the rod to the back of the obstinate squaw, they have time to indulge in all their spleen. They gossip, they scold, they trifle, and leave the burdens of life to gall the shoulders of their husbands.[32]

And again

> The Indian woman is obstinate, indolent, dirty, and vicious. She is either a consummate tyrant or an abject slave. This nearly unfits her for the privileges of Christianity, when she finds her husband has deprived himself of the liberty of beating her, by embracing Christianity she [illegible] the chain of slavery about his neck.[33]

In *Shall We Gather at the River?* Cockran is portrayed as an agent of colonialism whose role is the establishment of what Frantz Fanon called "the settler's world view"[34] at Red River. Attention is paid to the Natives and their culture and an account is given of its progressive disintegration under the total impact of the European presence, of which the so-called Christian mission was only a part.

Many of the examples of "poisonous pedagogy" are equally examples of "colonial oppression." Since Cockran's pedagogical ideology and practice were largely either unconscious or unexamined, it never occurred to him to write a treatise called A *Godly Form of Household Government*. The principal source of knowledge of his pedagogy is his writing about his "mission." Many who would not accept Cockran's naive evaluation of his "mission" would prefer to concentrate on what his writing tells about how the evil colonists dealt with poor Natives. That is an aspect of history that many are prepared to face. Persons whose culture has trained them from infancy to despise weakness (including their own) sometimes find it possible to apologize — especially when they perceive the recipient of the apology as weak.

We can apologize to Native people for what Cockran did to them. But who will apologize to us and to our children for what Cockran is still doing? The question is badly put, of course. For big strapping William Cockran was no more culpable than puny little Alfred Garrioch, who expressed such bloody-minded sentiments about pedagogy in his old age. Both were the predictable children of the poisonous pedagogues who tamed them. Neither had had "the ghost of a show." What made Cockran such a tempting target was his unintentionally comic assurance that *he was doing it*. A propos of his projected "school of industry" at Grand Rapids, he wrote:

> My motives are so pure that I am certain that he [God] will not allow me to be thwarted, to any greater extent than to keep me humble. . . .[35]

Exactly as if his compulsion to tame the Natives were not the misplaced expression of his need to avenge his own taming, which, he devoutly believed, had been for his own good.

NOTES

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11. James Walvin, *A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood, 1800-1914* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982), 47.
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20. Miller, *For Your Own Good*, xviii.
21. PAM, CMSA, Cockran to secretaries, 30 July 1833.
22. Ladd, *Shall We Gather At the River?*, 29-32.
23. J. G. Kruger, cited in Miller, *For Your Own Good*, 15.
24. PAM, CMSA, Cockran to secretaries, 5 August 1829.
25. Ibid., Cockran's journal, 17 July 1832.
26. Ibid., Cockran to secretaries, 30 July 1833.
27. Cited in Walvin, *A Child's World*, 49.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. PAM, CMSA, Cockran's journal, 26 November 1837.
31. Ibid., Cockran to secretaries, n.d., c. August 1833.
32. Ibid., Cockran's journal, 26 December 1834.
33. Ibid., Cockran to secretaries, 3 August 1838.
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8

John Smithurst and the Ordination Controversy: Reflections on Red River Society in the 1840s

F.A. Peake

The ordination controversy between the Reverend John Smithurst and Adam Thom, the resident legal counsel of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), which took place in the early 1840s, is interesting both in itself and for what it reveals of the character of the proponents and the society in which it took place.

The controversy was an argument concerning the jurisdiction of Anglican bishops in the Red River settlement. The protagonists were Adam Thom, the recorder, or resident legal counsel, of Rupert's Land and John Smithurst, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society (CMS). The whole matter was a tempest in a teapot but in isolated frontier communities such matters were often blown completely out of proportion.

First, a word about the principals. Adam Thom was a Scotsman, the son of Adam and Elizabeth Thom, born at Brechin on 30 August 1802.[1] He took an M.A. at Aberdeen and taught school for a time in northern Scotland. In 1825, he went to London to seek a career. In 1832, despairing of finding room for himself at the top in London, he decided to emigrate to Canada.[2] The colonies were then a magnet drawing energetic young men who could not find opportunities equal to their talents in Great Britain.

He went first to Montréal where his aggressiveness quickly attracted notice. He was a fluent, if not always very lucid, writer and soon made himself known for his controversial pamphlets. He showed himself as the strange combination of a revolutionary within the "establishment". George Bryce said of him that

> his mental bias was evidently that of a radical, while his social disposition led him to be somewhat subservient to prevailing ideas and customs. In method he was radical; in fact he was conservative.[3]

He was also violently anti-French. Sir George Simpson found in him a kindred spirit and appointed him recorder of Rupert's Land in 1839. His position was an ambiguous one. As an employee of the HBC he could hardly be regarded as an impartial judge but he exercised judicial functions and was more than a resident legal advisor.

William Cockran arrived in 1825 as an Anglican missionary sent out by the CMS. He had been a farm labourer and later helped in a school. Although the details are not clear, it is apparent that he had received some theological training in one of the CMS's institutions. He was made deacon on 19 December 1824 and priest on 29 May 1825. Immediately after his ordination he left for Red River with his wife arriving there on 4 June. His attitude will, perhaps, be best understood by looking at the background of many who came to serve in the mission fields as Anglican clergy during the mid-nineteenth century.

Between 1825 and 1865 the CMS supported twenty-two missionary clergymen in Rupert's Land. The young men selected for this work were usually married and came generally from what would have been described as the lower orders. They had little education or means and could not have hoped for ordination in England. They were recruited because of a shortage of better educated candidates. The university graduates of that era were generally reluctant to serve overseas and those who did volunteer were usually assigned to the better known and more prestigious work in India.

There is no evidence that the possession of a trade such as carpentry or agriculture, was taken into account in the selection of candidates. The CMS was anxious only that their agents should preach the gospel with fervour and dilegence and looked with disapproving eye on anything that distracted them from that task. As for the candidates themselves, they were not anxious to remember their humble origins but preferred to enjoy the status conferred by ordination. Many of the candidates recruited assumed that to be an Anglican priest was to be a gentleman, particularly an English gentleman.

It may not be altogether irrelevant to point out that the eighteenth century enclosure movement in England had transformed many of the parochial clergy into landed gentry more or less on a par with the squire or lord of the manor. Hard drinking, fox-hunting clergy were not unknown. Although the missionaries did not see themselves in that light, they did regard themselves as socially superior.

This does not mean that the missionaries were lacking in a sense of vocation or that they came with the intention of lording it over the Native peoples. All had an experience of personal religion, a lively though not necessarily balanced faith and a desire to give of themselves for the propagation of the gospel. Personal insecurity and sometimes a sense of social inferiority could lead them to adopt an attitude not unlike what they perceived to be the paternalism (or maternalism) of the lord and lady of the manor. They tended to regard the Native peoples as wayward children to be brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord. With significant exceptions they ignored the possibility that the aborigines might have a culture of their own. They assumed that evangelization included assimilation and acculturation. Frits Pannekoek's dictum, unsympathetic though it be, is not without some truth. He writes:

> The Anglican clergy were mediocre products from Islington College, the Church Missionary Society's institution for the training of its agents. The best of the College's students were sent to India. . . .
>
> What was most remarkable about these clergy was the rise in status that their move to Rupert's Land signified. . . . Cockran's case is typical. . . .

> as the incumbent of St. Andrew's and Counsellor of Assiniboia he enjoyed considerable prestige. . . .
>
> From their first arrival in 1820 these clergymen. . . . saw themselves as sharing equally. . . . with the other members of the elite: the squirearchy, the Company's officers, and the settlement's Governor.[4]

Cockran was the first of the Anglican missionaries at Red River to stay for any length of time. With no colleague he developed all the quirks latent in his nature and resisted anything or anyone who seemed to threaten his position. By the time the next Anglican missionary arrived, fourteen years later, he was *de jure* and *de facto* the senior missionary.

John Smithurst, the son of William and Christiana Smithurst, was born at Lea, Derbyshire on 9 September 1807.[5] Little is known of his origin although there is reason to believe that he was also of humble stock and went to work as a young man in Arkwright's cotton mill at nearby Cromford. His name has been linked with that of Florence Nightingale although the nature of the relationship is not known. It is known that she later presented silver communion vessels to St. John's Church, Elora, Ontario in the 1850s when Smithurst was incumbent there.

Smithurst spent a little more than two years at the CMS training school, Islington College. He was ordained deacon at Christmas 1838, and priest on 26 May 1839 by the bishop of London "for the colonies," a technical term. He arrived in 1839 to serve as a missionary and HBC chaplain at the Native settlement at Netley Creek some twelve miles below St. Andrew's.

They were joined in 1841 by two more recruits, John Roberts and Abraham Cowley. Roberts, then aged 25, had been a schoolmaster with the Newfoundland School Society. After a few months at Islington College he arrived at Red River in the summer of 1841. It was intended that he should serve for a time under Smithurst at the Native settlement, Netley Creek, and then be admitted to holy orders. Disillusioned, apparently, by the squabble between Smithurst and Thom he stayed only two years and left for England in August 1843. Cowley, also aged 25, had been a stonemason. After two years at Islington College he and his wife travelled to Montréal. There he was made deacon by Bishop Mountain with the intention that he should travel to the Red River with the bishop. When the bishop's journey was delayed the Cowleys returned to England. When they returned, they travelled to Red River by way of Hudson Bay and arrived on 28 September 1841. These were the "Protestant clergy" at Red River and among them Cockran was the acknowledged, though somewhat abrasive, head.

Smithurst and Thom both arrived at the Red River in 1839 bent, no doubt, on "improving their prospects" and motivated by that aggressiveness which often appears in such circumstances. It was important to both men that they should make a distinctive niche for themselves in the community. They were not rivals but in a sense used each other as foils to achieve their separate ends.

The ordination controversy began in 1840 when it was suggested that the bishop of Montréal might visit the Red River Settlement. George James Mountain had become assistant bishop of Québec in 1836 with the title of bishop of Montréal. From the time of his consecration he had wished to visit the missions of the northwest. In this he was warmly supported by the archbishop of Canterbury and the CMS. Plans were made for the visit to be made in 1842 but it was delayed. It was eventually made in the summer of 1844.[6]

Naturally, news of the proposed visit became widely known and it was at this point that Adam Thom decided to raise his objections. He prepared a long and involved document called "observations on the Colonial Ordinations Act, 59 Geo. 3, Ch. 60." In it, as recorder of Rupert's Land, he warned that the bishop of Montréal was constitutionally incapable of performing any episcopal act in Rupert's Land. Any attempt to do so would have profoundly serious effects. The ordinations themselves would be invalid and consequently any future actions, such as baptisms and marriages performed by those so ordained, would also be invalid.

Thom's motives for this extraordinary move are unknown. In all probability it was prompted by nothing more than the desire for fame (or even notoriety) and recognition as a legal luminary. After all, he was still relatively young and what was it to be recorder of Rupert's Land as the pinnacle of one's career? Others, including Smithurst, had seen it most improbably as part of a dark and sinister plot to destroy the Anglican mission.

Thom sent his document to Duncan Finlayson, the governor, who in turn sent it to Cockran, the senior missionary. Cockran acknowledged the warning saying that he and his colleagues had no wish to act illegally and that copies would be sent to the CMS and the bishop of Montréal. Early in 1843 he wrote to the CMS:

> The peculiar views which Mr. Recorder Thom took of the anticipated ordination of Messrs. Cowley and Roberts, made Mr. Cowley anxious for a station among the Indians where he might labour free of those legal impediments. Manitoba Lake being fixed upon as the most eligible site for a new station work was commenced there, the expense of which with Mr. Cowley's salary will be nearly £300 per annum. This could easily have been withdrawn on receiving your letter but the expense of keeping Mr. Cowley in the settlement would have been two thirds of that amount, and no advantage gained by it. And besides the Romanists are circumscribing us with their influence and unless we lay hold of some eligible stations before they have taken root, there will scarcely be any possibility of extending our missionary operations at a future period should God favour the Committee with the means of doing so.[7]

There the matter might have rested. Thom's thesis was so ludicrous that no one was likely to take it seriously. Smithurst was not prepared to let it die a natural death. He chose to see Thom's statement as intolerable interference (which, probably, it was) and as an attempt to undermine the position of the Church of England in the settlement (which it was not). Had he declined comment Thom's proposals would probably have been ignored and forgotten. Within a week, however, Smithurst had prepared and dispatched a lengthy reply.

Why? What were his motives? He may have seen a plot although this is more probably an explanation devised later to get him out of an awkward situation. More probably, his motives were very much the same as Thom's. The institution which he represented had been attacked, or so he thought, and he took it as a personal affront. For both men, their superiors, the governor in Thom's case and Cockran in Smithurst's, seemed unconscious of the danger and were unwilling or unprepared to take any action. They must act and save the day. Smithurst wrote to the secretaries of the CMS summarizing what had taken place and describing his own part in the controversy. This had been necessary because he wrote, perhaps tongue in cheek:

> My brother Cockran is eminently a man of peace, and with all due respect and affection for him, I could not but perceive that in this instance his kind heart, and his pacific disposition were evidently misleading him. I love peace no less than my brother can do, but I do not see how to escape from the difficulty in which I should involve myself by assenting to Mr. Thom's document. It was viewing the matter in this light which induced me to take a bold stand though that stand be alone. I may have been wrong. I leave that to be decided by your superior experience and judgement.[8]

This also raises questions about Smithurst's relationship with Cockran. Cockran does not seem to have been popular in the community. The HBC officers were put off by his self-assertiveness and ten years later Eden Colvile would describe him as "more like a lunatic than anything else."[9] Probably, even possibly unconsciously, Smithurst saw him as incompetent and himself as the one who should be senior missionary.

In replying to Thom, Smithurst professed to be perplexed by the reasons for Thom's action and challenged both his right to interfere and the accuracy of his judgment. In understanding the situation Smithurst was probably nearer the truth than Thom. In fact, the visit of the bishop of Montréal, when it actually took place in 1844, was undertaken on the commission of the bishop of London.[10] Lay lawyers are not infrequently out of their depth when they attempt to delve into canon law. Thom was infuriated that any layman should presume to question his knowledge and judgment. The dispute degenerated into an acrimonious exchange of correspondence as so often happened in the nineteenth century. The difficulty was that each adversary was backed into a corner and in self-defense said more than was originally intended. The adversaries did not confront each other directly. All the letters were addressed to the governor, Duncan Finlayson, for transmission to the other party.

The dispute raged on for several weeks during which time the protagonists could have done little else but think of new arguments for use as weapons. Correspondence pertaining to the dispute had already been sent to the CMS but on 8 August 1842, Smithurst took it upon himself to write to the deputy governor and committee of the HBC in London. His letter left nothing to the imagination:

> Mr. Thom alleges private friendship towards Messrs. Cowley and Roberts, together with considerations of public duty as a justification for his interference. This is all good but Mr. Thom ought to have considered that the professional interests of Messrs. Cowley and Roberts as well as the general interests of the Society Settlement depended upon the proceedings of men who knew their duty. Did Mr. Thom suppose that the Ch. Missy Socy would send out the two gentlemen to be involved in all the difficulties he represents? Did he suppose that the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of Montreal capable of deliberately placing them in all the difficulties which he describes? His document being apparently based upon such an assumption will in some degree explain why it met with such an uncourteous reception.
>
> To take the most favourable view of the matter if Mr. Thom conceived all the parties concerned about to err through ignorance his proceeding will not appear under a much better aspect. He clearly assumed that the Bishop of Montreal was about either from ignorance [or] design to act illegally otherwise his document was utterly useless. Taking this view of the subject, I think your honourable board will agree with me in saying that Mr. Thom had no occasion either on public or private grounds, to meddle with the matter, for he might have been well assured that if the gentlemen in question could not be regularly and legally ordained in Rupert's Land, the Bishop would never ordain them here. . . .
>
> I have no wish to deprive Mr. Thom of the satisfaction which the contemplation of his own imaginary greatness seems to afford him, and if for the future he will only keep within his own province we shall neither engage in an equal or unequal contest.[11]

Smithurst sent a copy of the letter he had written to the HBC to the CMS and also described its contents in his letter to them. His main purpose seems to have been to discredit Thom and to demonstrate his own competence and desire to protect the interests of the church. In London, it is highly probable that the controversy had been the topic of informal discussion between directors of the company and committee members of the CMS. All concerned must have been slightly amused as they said to each other, "What kind of people have you got out there that they would write such extraordinary letters?" The matter probably became a matter of slight embarrassment to both HBC and CMS.

After receiving Smithurst's letter Richard Davies, the secretary, replied with a thinly veiled admonition and reproof:

> we have also sympathized you in your trials, particularly in that which arose from the painful controversy in which you have been engaged. Without expressing any opinion respecting the necessity or desirableness of engaging in that discussion, I am sure that you will agree with me in heartily wishing that it were possible on all occasions to avoid controversy. . . .
>
> You will, I am sure, allow me to say, as a friend to friend, that there are one or two expressions in your letter to the Hudson's Bay Company which on consideration you would wish you had omitted. Everything

> bordering on harshness of expression or imputation of motives should be most carefully avoided. This is one of the evils of controversy.[12]

The unfortunate governor, Finlayson, was caught in the middle of this controversy and did what he could to mediate. The dispute was resolved, on the surface at least, in the summer of 1843. Having heard that Sir George Simpson was in on the settlement Smithurst went to consult with him about matters affecting the missions. When the business was finished Simpson invited him to dinner that evening when Thom would be present, in order, said Smithurst, "That he might be satisfied that we had become mutual friends." All went well and subsequently he wrote, perhaps a little grudgingly to the CMS:

> I am happy to inform you that the controversy between the Recorder and myself has now terminated amicably. I enclose a copy of the correspondence which took place in June last immediately after the arrival of the English letters, from which you will be gratified to learn that my gloomy anticipations respecting intended hostility were groundless. I deeply regret the harsh expressions that I used in many of my letters; but the fact is I was carried away by my feelings which in such cases too often take the place of sound judgement and discretion. I thank Mr. Davies for his kind and delicate hint connected with the matter; I can assure him on cool reflection that I saw many objectionable things in what I had written. I am still of opinion, that the Recorder's interference was unnecessary but it seems he thinks differently, and doubtless acted in accordance with that he believed to be an imperative duty. It is now useless to make further remark as the correspondence will speak for itself. . . .[13]

As Smithurst and Thom had arrived together at Red River so they both left in the early 1850s, Smithurst in 1852 and Thom in 1854, both virtually ousted by the enmity of the Métis. The HBC was making a last attempt to protect its trading monopoly. By supporting the HBC Smithurst aroused the ire of the Métis who in turn enlisted the sympathies of his Native congregation against him. Thom lost the support of the Métis by seeking to make an example of a few of them who were in possession of illicit furs. He lost the support of the English-speaking community by taking the wrong side in an alienation of affections case. Discredited and without influence he returned to Edinburgh.

In the 1840s sweeping changes were imminent. The HBC had consistently resisted settlement in its territories but now the vast empty spaces were being eyed enviously by the United States. Further, the HBC had maintained, more or less successfully, a commercial monopoly in its territories. This, also, was being challenged by the free traders who wished to share in the profits and by some of the residents of the Red River who claimed that they were being exploited. There can be no doubt that the situation was delicate to the point of being potentially explosive.

In June 1846, Georges Antoine Belcourt, an Oblate priest, had sent to London a petition with 977 signatures attacking the HBC for its callous and inhumane treatment of the Natives. Even though Belcourt was regarded in some quarters as a troublemaker and the petition itself contained much that was unfounded it was a straw in the wind. The attacks were supported by Alexander K. Isbister,[14] a Métis who had taken a degree in law at the University of Edinburgh, and by his uncle, William Kennedy. Both men, like their fathers before them, had worked for the HBC. On the whole they had done well by it but both had grown disillusioned, left the service and turned against it. Associated with them was John McLaughlin who had also gone to England where he threatened the HBC with the exposure of its alleged misdemeanours.[15]

The Anglican clergy, while secretly applauding and supporting the popular move, felt themselves to be caught in a dilemma. They realized that the charges levelled against the HBC had some basis in fact but they also realized that in the remote missons they were entirely dependent on the HBC's good will. Hence, they gave their support to the movement but privately and discreetly. James Hunter summed up their views when he wrote to the CMS saying:

> the fact is that the people are tired of the present government and are anxious for any change that will open up the country to colonization and civilization. . . . That people have suffered so long from the company that they are now determined to make a great struggle for emancipation.[16]

Moreover, he continued, if the country were not annexed to Canada it would undoubtedly be swallowed up by the Americans. So far as the missionary cause was concerned, he added, "Our missionaries will never prosper under the Company's rule and Sir G. Simpson has done all he can to suppress them." This was in 1857 but the resentment had been smouldering for more than a decade.

Part of the HBC's attempt to resolve its difficulties was to secure the appointment of a governor who was independent of the fur trade. This was achieved by the appointment of Major William Caldwell who "proved at best to be destitute of business habits and of the art to govern," and at worst "an elderly, dull witted giant, punctilious with respect to his own dignity and comfort, but incapable of maintaining the one or ensuring the other."[17]

The complaints against the HBC still remained and although Earl Grey, the colonial secretary, made it clear that he did not intend to institute a formal inquiry he did set to work to discover the facts. Caldwell was among those from whom information was sought. Caldwell, in turn, consulted the Anglican clergy with whom he was on friendly terms and among them John Smithurst. Smithurst investigated the charges and found them to be unfounded. When he tried to explain his findings to the Natives on 3 March 1849, he was accused of being in the pay of the HBC. A number of Natives protested and walked out of the meeting. At a later meeting on 6 April Smithurst reprimanded the protesters and, it is said, threatened them with excommunication.

The gist of the case against Smithurst is contained in a newspaper article quoted by Smithurst to Donald Ross together with his response:

> I was just reading a number of the "Morning Chronicle" of October 3rd, lent to me last night by Mr. Black. It contains much on the subject of Red River politics having been evidently written by McLaughlin. . . .[18]
>
> But I must not forget the Revd. Mr. Smithurst. All his Indians have turned out against him as they believe he took some underhanded method to get depositions from them. The fact has been clear enough proved that where twenty offered their testimony against the Company he only accepted such as suited his purpose. After he had done so before transmitting them to the major [Caldwell] he gave them to the Company for inspection. Whether this was right or not I am not prepared to state, but certainly it would be the means of turning the Company against any poor devils that speak unfavourably. It was also reported that he took only the depositions of such as were related to the Kennedy and Isbister family so (as said) that it might appear an Isbister movement.
>
> As there is so much false colour and exaggeration in this statement, of course, I care not a straw about it.
>
> About six weeks ago the Indians went to the Bishop with complaints against me and his Lordship came down here hoping to put the thing all right. I met them in the conclusion I told the bishop I should resign as I did not feel disposed to be annoyed any longer for the spirit of the people was such as to give me no satisfaction in ministering among them. The persons engaged in the late movement are those that were bitter against me two years ago. They are, however, in this case, urged on by Mr. Cockran who for reasons best known to himself wishes me away. Report says he will come here himself when I have gone. At all events there has been no cordiality between him and myself for a long time. I cannot enter into his wild schemes and then he thinks me insincere. I, moreover, cannot break off intercourse with those with whom he may be on bad terms. Things are, I assure you, in a wretched state at Red River, I know not in what it must end. I am glad enough to get away but at the same time feel deeply injured and painfully affected by the ill-treatment I have received. I have every reason to be thankful to the gentlemen in the service of the H.B.Co. for their kindness to me and shall always think with pleasure of my intercourse with them and on their account deeply regret leaving the country.[19]

It can hardly be denied that things in Red River were in a sorry state. The overall situation, as Rich says, was an impossible one:

> The Company had achieved its purpose of separating colonial administration from the fur trade. In so doing it was (or so it hoped) placing upon other shoulders the burden of maintaining its undoubtedly legal rights. But it was also accepting the conclusion that where settlement was achieved the Company's paramount position could not be maintained. For the moment little effective force was required to maintain the legal position, and for the moment it proved possible to renounce responsibility for government, but yet to maintain the right of exclusive trade. The Company might for a time have hoped to enjoy the best of both worlds. But not for long.[20]

Just as the position of the HBC had changed *vis-à-vis* the nature of government so Anglican missions had changed *vis-à-vis* the HBC. In the earliest days, at least on paper, Anglicanism was the exclusive religious expression of the HBC. The colonial office instructions accompanying the issue of the HBC's charter continued the following paragraph:

> Forasmuch as most of our colonies do border upon the Indians, and peace is not to be expected without due observance and preservation of justice to them, you are, in our name, to command *all Governors* that they at no time give any just provocation to any of the said Indians that are at peace with us. . . . And you are to consider how the Indians and slaves may be best *instructed in and united to* the Christian religion; it being both for the honour of the Crown and of the Protestant [Anglican] religion itself, that all persons within any of our territories, *though never so remote*, should be taught the knowledge of God, and be made acquainted with the mysteries of salvation.[21]

Officers sent out in the latter part of the seventeenth century were enjoined to uphold the precepts of religion and morality.[22] Divine service, according to the *Book of Common Prayer*, was to be read at least on Sundays on all vessels and at all posts belonging to the HBC. A chaplain for the territories was appointed in 1683 but recalled after only three years. A similar appointment in 1693 lasted for only one year. No further appointment seems to have been made for a considerable period but the instructions remained in effect. Even at the outset they had been a dead letter but by the mid-nineteenth century they had become outmoded even without the influence of Sir George Simpson. None the less, there were still some of the clergy who came to Rupert's Land who clung nostalgically to them.

Reference has already been made to the lack of training and education of many of the Anglican missionaries. It is perhaps significant that the ablest clergy in the settlement were those who left — Smithurst in 1851 and Bishop Anderson and Archdeacon Hunter in 1865. Part of the blame for the state of affairs must lie with the CMS who exercised too little discrimination in the recruitment and training of missionary personnel. Part must also rest on William Cockran who was quite incapable of exercising the office entrusted to him as senior missionary. Had he inspired Smithurst with any confidence at all on his first arrival the contretemps with Thom might have been avoided.

NOTES

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3. Paper delivered by Dr. George Bryce to the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, on 4 May 1890, and quoted by Stubbs, *Four Recorders*, 7.
4. Frits Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870," in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, eds., *The West and the Nation* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976), 74.
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8. Ibid., Smithurst to CMS secretaries, 1 August 1842.
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10. NAC, CMSA, Henry Venn to the bishop of Montréal, 4 March 1844.
11. Ibid., Smithurst to deputy governor and committee of HBC, 8 August 1842.
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16. NAC, CMSA, Hunter to CMS, 8 April 1857.
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Robert Machray and the Foundation of the University of Manitoba in 1877

9

Laurence F. Wilmot

The University of Manitoba was founded in 1877, just seven years after the birth of the province. In presenting the university bill to the house on 9 February 1877, the attorney general, the Honourable Joseph Royal, conceded there was an element of truth in the criticisms of some members that the bill was premature, but that the government had been so repeatedly urged during the past two years that they had decided to bring the bill before the legislators for their consideration and such action as they might wish to take.[1]

Professor George Bryce, at that time acting head of Manitoba College, evidently had no knowledge that the matter was under consideration by the government until he received a copy of the bill just prior to its presentation in the legislature. He appears to have personally felt the bill to be premature and sympathized with critics who termed it at the time "a mere paper university." In the absence of available evidence to the contrary, Professor Bryce assumed, and in an address delivered in Winnipeg on 16 November 1900,[2] categorically declared that the lieutenant governor had persistently pressured the legislators into passage of the bill at a time when they considered it to be premature merely to satisfy his own pride and ambition to leave it as a monument to his name as he prepared to leave his office later that year. This myth, based upon a mistaken assumption, but promulgated with all the vigour of Bryce's persuasive personality, has been accepted as historical fact and, because it failed to explain anything, has been the source of puzzlement and misunderstanding to subsequent historians of the university.[3]

It is now evident that Bryce was quite mistaken in a number of assumptions made in his address. The urgings of which the attorney general spoke, as he introduced the bill, came to the government through the lieutenant governor from the head of one of the colleges. Contrary to Bryce's statement in the address, the lieutenant governor had held a number of conversations with Archbishop Taché and Bishop Machray throughout the period 1876 and early 1877. Documents and papers buried in the National Archives for more than a century have recently been brought to light and provide factual information upon the basis of which it becomes possible to reappraise the actions of those who by working together made possible the foundation of the University of Manitoba at that early date. The source of the urgings upon the government, as will become evident in the following brief review and analysis of the histories of the three church colleges, was the bishop of Rupert's Land and certain members of the legislature and government who were also members of the council of St. John's College.

If historical records are to remain credible it is important that myths and mistaken assumptions should be corrected as and when discovered and the story rewritten to include the new facts as having important implications for our understanding of events of the past. The following paper is an attempt to commence such a restatement and clarification of the series of events which led to the foundation of the University of Manitoba at such an early date, when the province lacked any system of secondary education other than that which was offered in the three church colleges — St. Boniface, St. John's and Manitoba.

St. Boniface, the oldest of the three colleges which cooperated to make possible the creation of the University of Manitoba in 1877, was a successor to the mission school founded by the Reverend J.N. Provencher, the first Roman Catholic missionary to the Red River settlement in 1818 and later bishop of St. Boniface. As it developed, the college was modelled on the tradition of the classical colleges of Québec and sought to provide a classical education in the French language for the Métis young people. From 1845 to 1854 and again from 1860 to 1878 the college was under the direction of the Oblate Fathers.[4] It is clear from correspondence of Archbishop Taché that the "urgings" referred to by the attorney general did not come from this source.

Manitoba College had its birth in the years 1869-1871, under the leadership of the Reverend John Black, with the assistance of Mr. David Whimster, an Ontario teacher, to meet the needs of the Presbyterian community in Kildonan. In 1869 Black designated one room of the Kildonan school for higher classes in English, mathematics, Greek, Latin, and French, in the teaching of which he personally assisted. In 1871, Whimster returned to Ontario and his place was taken by the Reverend George Bryce, under whose leadership the higher school was separated from the elementary school and given the name Manitoba College. The staff was strengthened in 1872 with the arrival of the Reverend Thomas Hart, a graduate of Queen's University in Kingston, and of Edinburgh, Scotland. The college was founded with the purpose of preparing men for the ministry and for the professions. Of necessity the college maintained preparatory courses in the liberal arts, but in the tradition of the Presbyterian Free Church, they believed that general education should be undertaken by the province as soon as this became possible. In 1874, the college moved to Winnipeg where it developed a vigorous program of secondary education. From a report given at a convocation and on a prize-giving occasion in January 1876, there were twenty-four students in the senior department and fourteen in the junior, a total of thirty-eight, and the college was offering studies up to and including "fourth form". At this point in its history, therefore, Manitoba College was not facing an urgent need for university opportunities for its students. While the speakers at this convocation outlined a variety of different models for university organization which might be suitable to meet the needs of Manitobans in the future, it is clear that Professor Bryce believed the creation of a nondenominational system of elementary and collegiate education must receive prior and immediate attention before the province could afford a university.[5] It is evident that the pressures referred to in the introduction of the university bill did not come from this source.

There had been Anglican elementary schools in the Red River community from the date of the arrival of the first Anglican missionary, the Reverend John West in 1820, and from 1833-1849 the Red River Academy under the leadership successively of the Reverend David Jones and of John Macallum, sought to provide secondary education for the few who could qualify and wished to proceed with further studies.[6] David Anderson, first bishop of Rupert's Land (1849-1864), had attempted to provide some training in higher branches of study, and did succeed in preparing a number of men in St. John's Collegiate School for missionary work and as teachers and catechists, some of whom later distinguished themselves as politicians and statesmen in the early life of Manitoba; but from lack of leaders and of the necessary financial resources, the institution languished and closed after 1856. When the second bishop of Rupert's Land, Robert Machray, arrived in 1865, he found only a set of dilapidated buildings. Machray lost no time in rectifying the situation and St. John's College opened on 1 November 1866,[7] with the Reverend John McLean, a distinguished classics graduate from Aberdeen, as warden, and Samuel Pritchard from St. Paul's Middlechurch, as master of the collegiate. There were three students in the theological class and nineteen boys in the school, most of whom had been pupils of Pritchard's school at St. Paul's. The constitution of the college in 1871 stated that its purpose was to train fit persons for the sacred ministry, to provide instruction in the higher branches of education usually taught in universities, and to provide a preparatory college or collegiate school for such as required it.

The report on the college, as given to the diocesan synod meeting in January 1873,[8] indicates that there were three professors in the college and four masters in the collegiate. Subjects listed in the syllabus for the year were mathematics, arithmetic, Latin, Greek, German, French, and English literature. In the theological program, in addition to carrying forward the school subjects to higher levels, there were lectures in ecclesiastical history, systematic theology, Hebrew, and biblical literature. Two of the most promising graduates of the college had become masters in the school and resident tutors. When the warden of the college, Archdeacon McLean, was appointed bishop of the newly formed diocese of Saskatchewan in 1873, Bishop Machray assumed the warden's chair and for many years personally directed the studies of the college and supervised the collegiate.

By 1873-1874, Bishop Machray was facing problems of a different nature. The college had been in operation for seven years and had proven eminently successful. At least some young men had discovered in its halls the fascination of the search for knowledge and, under the leadership of the college staff, had completed their studies and gone out again into the world.

Some returned home, others continued their education elsewhere, either at universities in eastern Canada or at Cambridge, England, where on the recommendation of the bishop they were readily accepted to pursue their studies to a degree level and to prepare themselves for a profession. An increasingly large number were preparing for the ministry and their graduation from college would bring to an end their formal education. Machray himself had graduated with top honours from Aberdeen, with distinction in mathematics from Cambridge, and had been successively a fellow and for seven years dean of Sidney Sussex College in Cambridge. He was acutely concerned about the inability of St. John's College to provide some form of certification for successful students which would not only carry the seal of approval of their college, but would carry validation within the larger community of learning. To a man of Machray's disposition, the recognition of a problem constituted a call for action towards its solution.

During the summer of 1874 the college building was enlarged to include classrooms, library, dining hall, rooms for masters and lecturers, dormitories for the students, kitchen and servants' accommodation. There were sixty students in residence and some day scholars, among whom were the two older sons of the lieutenant governor, who attended St. John's throughout their entire residence in Winnipeg. Nearly all of the boarders were Canadians, a large proportion of them sons of HBC officers from the interior.[9] In September 1874, W.R. Flett, a recent graduate of the college who for the past two years had been a master and resident tutor in the school, went to Sidney Sussex College to obtain a degree. S.P. Matheson, an equally brilliant graduate, was unable to undertake the costly journey; he remained at the college, became acting head master of the school, and did not receive the degree of Bachelor of Divinity for his academic studies until 1880. The need for some adequate form of certification of students upon completion of their studies at the college was being felt more acutely than ever, and some solution needed to be found.

Bishop Machray communicated with the governor general, who had displayed an interest in higher education, asking him to take up privately with Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie the possibility that St. John's might obtain a charter to enable the college to confer theological degrees upon its graduates who were being ordained to the ministry. Mackenzie, however, opposed the granting of a charter to a denominational college, apparently fearing a repetition of the emergence of competing denominational universities which had hindered university development in Ontario. Mackenzie suggested that if it was simply theological degrees in which Machray was interested, the Archbishop of Canterbury could confer that power. Machray was certain that Mackenzie was mistaken, but he nevertheless wrote to the archbishop on 17 April 1875, seeking his advice. This letter demonstrates the problems he faced and his hopes for a solution, and became the basis of negotiations extending over the next ten months.

> Bishop's Court, Manitoba, Canada,
> April 17, 1875
>
> My Lord Archbishop:
>
> I have brought before the Governor General our desire to have St. John's College, which is incorporated by the Legislature of Manitoba, empowered by the Crown to grant Degrees in Theology. Lord Dufferin in reply, stated that he had mentioned the matter to the Premier Mr. MacKenzie [sic] and found him opposed to grant such a charter to a denominational College. Lord Dufferin added that Mr. MacKenzie [sic] said this was of less consequence as Your Grace could give us enabling powers. I presume this is a mistake of the Premier's, probably originating in his having heard that Your Grace can personally confer degrees.
>
> I am myself quite opposed to the creation here of Denominational Universities as in the old Provinces of Canada, Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Wesleyan for granting Degrees in Arts, Medicine and Law. I purpose [sic] supporting a United University for Arts, etc., to which I should wish to affiliate St. Jonn's College. But such a United University cannot grant Degrees in Theology, and so there will be no means of obtaining such Degrees in all the great West about to rise up here. St. John's College has as full a Theological Faculty as any of the Church Universities in Canada — I feel therefore that this is unfair.
>
> Can I by any possibility get a Charter for Theological Degrees directly from the Queen? What would your Grace advise?
>
> I am, etc.
> signed R. Rupert's Land
>
> The Right Honourable and Right Reverend
> The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury[10]

Upon receiving this letter, the archbishop of Canterbury wrote on 26 May to Bishop Machray,[11] confirming his assumption that he had no authority to grant enabling powers to any college or individual to confer degrees, but assuring the bishop that he would consult with those who were in a position to advise him on the matter. Two days later the archbishop wrote to Lord Carnarvon, the colonial secretary, enclosing Machray's letter and, explaining his inability to solve the problem, enquired whether under the circumstances described in the bishop's letter, the queen "would grant a charter for Theological Degrees directly from herself."[12] Lord Carnarvon's secretary, on instructions, enclosed this letter and the letter from Bishop Machray in a dispatch to the governor general of Canada on 9 June 1875, requesting that Lord Carnarvon would like "to be placed in possession of your views on the subject, and would be glad to be informed what means there are of conferring Theological Degrees in Canada and whether they could be made available for the purpose."[13]

The problem arrived back on Prime Minister Mackenzie's desk in November of that year, along with other documents from the governor general, who called Mackenzie's attention to the fact that he was enclosing

> a copy of a Despatch from Lord Carnarvon, enclosing the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter stating that he has no power of conferring theological

> degrees, in reference to the request of the Bishop of Rupert's Land for a Charter.[14]

Since the request came from the secretary of state for the colonies, who wanted clarification of the issue in order to advise the archbishop of Canterbury on the matter, a decision was necessary. Accordingly, on 15 November 1875 the question was referred to the Privy Council, which was to decide whether the power of granting a charter rested with the provincial or the dominion government. The minister of Justice, to whom the question was referred, reported on 23 December that it appeared that "the subject in question is as between Canada and Manitoba, within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Legislature of that Province, and recommends that this view be conveyed to Lord Carnarvon."[15] The report was approved by the governor general on 27 December 1875 and two days later was dispatched to Lord Carnarvon;[16] on 20 January 1876 he forwarded it to the archbishop of Canterbury, adding that in his opinion the provincial government could not empower the granting of degrees which would be entitled to recognition beyond the boundaries of the province.[17]

Meanwhile Bishop Machray, addressing a meeting of the diocesan synod in June 1875,[18] disclosed as a matter of urgent concern the inability of the college to grant theological degrees to its graduates, expanding the message of the letter which he had written to the archbishop of Canterbury in April. Present at the synod were the Honourable Colin Inkster of the Legislative Council, the Honourable John Norquay, minister of Public Works in the Davis government, and Chief Justice Wood. All three were members of the council of St. John's College and thus well informed on the problem which Machray was bringing to the public's attention.[19]

Responding to the urgency of the situation, the synod on 12 January 1876 enacted a statute which declared that "until Degrees can be obtained by the alumni of the College, the Council of the College may by examination or otherwise, confer the titles of Associate in Arts, and Associate in Divinity."[20] It is evident that the pressure to provide certification was at that time being felt in both departments of the college — in arts and theology — and was sufficiently intense to call for some interim provision to reassure students and alumni that the need for proper recognition of their studies was not being neglected.

The archbishop of Canterbury, having received the minister of Justice's report, forwarded it to Machray in February.[21] Having sought a solution to his problem by appealing to the highest levels of government in Canada and Great Britain, Machray was directed to the provincial legislature in Manitoba as the sole body which could deal with his request.

On 28 February 1876 Machray addressed a long letter to the lieutenant governor, the first section of which set out the successive steps which he had taken to obtain a charter enabling St. John's College to grant the degrees of Bachelor or Doctor of Divinity to qualified students. Up until then he had experienced nothing but frustration, and believed that the college, because it was working in a small, new province, was being unjustly discriminated against. Failing to gain his point by an approach through the governor general, he had gone through the colonial office via the archbishop of Canterbury, only to receive another negative reply. He had finally been recommended to the local legislature as the body which had sole jurisdiction in such matters, but it had been suggested to him that in this case such degrees would have no recognition beyond the province. He did not anticipate any resistance to obtaining such powers from the local legislature, stating that "because as far as I have talked over the matter with members of other Bodies they quite fall in with my own views." However, he was deeply disturbed by the suggestion that "in this case the Degrees would be in some inferior and not properly recognized position."[22]

It becomes clear from this letter that Machray was now prepared to move on his own unless he received a satisfactory solution without further delay. He stated unequivocally:

> If we are refused the power of granting Theological Degrees which is all we ask. . . I shall certainly endeavour to have St. John's College affiliated to an English University and I believe I shall be able when I go to England to accomplish this. If so this affiliation will affect all Degrees. I should very much regret this. I am not anxious to build up a Denominational University — on the contrary I am prepared to give my whole influence to the building up of an Undenominational University in Arts, Law, Medicine and Science.[23]

At this point Machray put forward a concrete proposal for a charter for a provincial university to which the denominational colleges could be affiliated, "having a common faculty for Degrees in Arts, Law, Medicine, Science, and separate Faculties belonging to the individual Colleges for Theology."[24] He reassured the lieutenant governor that his suggestion of the affiliation of St. John's College to an English university

> would be a last resort and very much against my wishes. There are two things that I almost equally wish — the being affiliated for arts, etc., to a common University of Manitoba — and our possessing the power of conferring Theological Degrees.[25]

The letter concludes

> I think it is unfair that because Manitoba is small and new we should be debarred from privileges enjoyed in every other quarter of the British Empire. I brought the subject during the past year before the Diocesan Synod of Rupert's Land as may be seen at page 6 of the Report just published and I believe I carry with me the support and best wishes of the Synod and all the members of the Church of England.[26]

This important communication, addressed to the chief administrative officer of the province, constituted an urgent call for action without delay to found a university for Manitoba. It was, in effect, an ultimatum to the government of Manitoba to act while the way was still open for the creation of one university for the province.

Alexander Morris had throughout his five-year term as lieutenant governor maintained excellent working relations with the various denominational bodies engaged in educational work in the province. He now quietly set to work to obtain such cooperation from the college heads as would enable the government to move on the matter with as much speed as possible. His task was rendered more difficult by an acceleration of agitation throughout 1876 for the abolition of the dual system of education and its replacement with a government department charged with the task of introducing nonsectarian schools in the English language throughout the province. This movement was promoted by Professor Bryce of Manitoba College, whose activities were viewed with apprehension by the French and Roman Catholic minority, and its leader, Archbishop Taché, who saw in the agitation an attack on the French culture and way of life. The government gave more power to the board of education in the area of the division of funds, but resisted drastic alteration of the system at that date as politically inexpedient and financially impossible.

Under the circumstances the lieutenant governor made no attempt to bring the college boards together in joint discussions, but held a series of "conversations with the Archbishop of St. Boniface, the Bishop of Rupert's Land and the Reverend George Bryce."[27] Bryce, however, declared that the lieutenant governor did not have formal conversations with him, but that he simply referred in passing to the suggestion as a desirable thing for the province.[28] Professor Hart, on the other hand, stated that he had had frequent conversations with Morris about the bill, and added that the lieutenant governor's term was drawing to a close and that he wished the act to be put on the statute book.[29] He was, in other words, under some pressure to complete the negotiations in time for the third session of the second legislature, which would be his final session as lieutenant governor. Because Bryce was deeply immersed in controversy over the discharge of his inspectorship of the Winnipeg schools, Morris understandably turned to Professor Hart, a graduate of Queen's University, of which Morris had been a member of the board of governors.

Conversations with Machray would aim at drawing from the bishop a clear picture of how he would envisage a university being brought into being through the cooperation of the three church colleges as a solution to the problems posed in his letter. Inasmuch as he would be looking to Machray for leadership in implementing the project, should his efforts be successful, Morris would be particularly careful to know Machray's mind on all aspects of his expectations with regard to the structure of the proposed university. Machray, with his personal experience of higher education in Scotland and England, would be able to offer many helpful suggestions on how a university composed of colleges might function in Manitoba. Throughout all these negotiations, however, plans were only tentative, pending success in his negotiations with Taché. Could a Roman Catholic college become a partner in the projected plan for a university? The success of the venture hinged on winning Taché's cooperation.

From Taché's correspondence there is evidence that he had several conversations with Morris in 1876 and 1877, and that Morris urged upon him the advisability of St. Boniface joining the other two colleges to secure a university for Manitoba.[30] At first Taché declined the proposition on the grounds that he could not relegate the teaching of Catholics to non-Catholics. When Morris insisted, Taché responded that he was "exceedingly anxious to go as far as possible to meet the views and desires of the other colleges," but having had no personal experience of university matters, he must consult and study the whole subject. He went to Québec in 1876 with no other object than to investigate the possibility of cooperating in the project. While there he saw a calendar of the University of London and "satisfied myself that I could allow St. Boniface College to join the desired University of Manitoba provided that the teaching of our students would remain entirely under our control."[31] He returned to Manitoba and informed Morris of his willingness to become a partner in the foundation of the university, provided that the functions of the university would be limited to the examining of candidates for degrees and to the granting of such degrees.

Taché met with the corporation of St. Boniface College on 10 January 1877 and reported the decision which he had reached. Under his inspiration the college agreed with the request for the creation of a university of Manitoba on the condition that all rights, obligations and privileges of the college as a Catholic institution would be maintained and that the college, in affiliating with the university, would retain absolute autonomy.[32] In all likelihood it was after this important meeting with the college that Taché gave his decision to Morris, leaving less than a month for the preparation of a bill for introduction at the third session of the second legislature.

Having received Taché's concurrence, Morris met with Attorney General Royal and requested that he prepare a bill to incorporate the three colleges into a university. In a letter recalling the successive steps which he took to this end, Royal stated that he first consulted with Taché, following which he arranged to "have several conversations with his Lordship, the Bishop of Rupert's Land."[33] Royal did not mention in his conversations with Machray that he was preparing to draw up a bill for presentation to the legislature, and the first knowledge which Machray had of it was when he received a draft copy of the proposed bill forwarded by Royal to church leaders. Royal stated that he first made a draft of the bill in French and then translated it into English for presentation to Morris, and that this, after further discussions with both Taché and Machray, was slightly modified.

Having read the draft bill, Machray raised some objections, one of which was that the bill failed to provide that the university should at some time become a teaching body.[34] Bryce and a Mr. Biggs, on behalf of Manitoba College, called on Royal and recommended that convocation be granted the privilege of electing three members to the university council.[35] Morris was delighted with the success and wrote to Governor General Lord Dufferin, informing him that on the agenda of the forthcoming session of the legislature was a proposal to found a university for Manitoba in which he hoped to "embrace all the Colleges — Protestant and Catholic."[36]

The bill, after careful consideration by the legislators, received two brief but significant amendments. The phrase "on the model of the University of London" was deleted from the preamble, since it was not an accurate description of the university being proposed, and section 5, which read "There shall be no professorship or other teachership in the university, but its functions shall be limited to the examination of the candidates for degrees . . . and to the granting of such degrees, etc.," was amended by inserting the words "at present" after "teachership." As so amended, the bill was passed by the legislature and signed by Morris on 28 February 1877. Shortly after the close of the session Machray was appointed chancellor of the new university, a post which he held until his death in 1904.

NOTES

For further reference and a more comprehensive investigation, see Laurence F. Wilmot, "The Christian Churches of the Red River Settlement and the Foundation of the University of Manitoba: An Historical Analysis of the Process of Transition from Frontier College to University" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979).

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5. A.B. Baird, "History of the University of Manitoba," 16; also *Manitoba Free Press*, 31 January 1876.
6. T.C.B. Boon, *The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies: A History of The Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's and Its Dioceses From 1820 to 1950* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), chapters 1-5; Maurice Wilkinson, "The Episcopate of the Right Reverend David Anderson, D.D., First Bishop of Rupert's Land, 1849-1864" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1950), chapter 6.
7. Robert Machray, *Life of Robert Machray, Archbishop of Rupert's Land* (London: Macmillan, 1909), 137.
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11. Lambeth Palace Archives, London, England, foreign, vol. 214, Tait Papers, official letters, Canterbury, 1875, archbishop of Canterbury to bishop of Rupert's Land, 26 May 1875.
12. NAC, RG 7, G-1, vol. 199(2), 24, Records of General General's Office; see also Tait Papers, archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Carnarvon, 28 May 1875.
13. Ibid., 240, Dispatches from the Colonial Office, W.R. Malcolm, Lord Carnarvon's secretary to Governor General of Canada.
14. Ibid., MG 27, 1 B3, A410, Dufferin and Ava Papers, Dufferin to Mackenzie (private), 8 November 1875.
15. Ibid., B57, vol. 737, 42, Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Reports of Privy Council, dated 23 December 1875, approved by the Governor General 27 December 1875.
16. Ibid., Dufferin to Carnarvon, 29 December 1875.
17. Ibid., Carnarvon to the archbishop of Canterbury, 20 January 1876.
18. PAM, ARL, Reports of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, 10 June 1875, 6.
19. St. John's College Archives, Minutes of St. John's College Council, 12 July 1875.
20. PAM, ARL, Report of Diocesan Synod, 12 January 1876.
21. Research has failed to uncover this letter; extensive quotations from it in Machray's letter to Morris on 28 February 1876 indicate that he had received it prior to that date.
22. PAM, MG 12, B1, no. 1226.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Robert Machray, "History of the University of Manitoba," in J. Castell Hopkins, ed., *Canada: An Encyclopedia of the Country* (Toronto: Linscott, 1898), vol. 4, sec. 3, 256.
28. George Bryce, "Manitoba University," *Manitoba Free Press*, 17 November 1900.
29. *Daily Free Press*, 23 November 1889, report of a meeting of the university council called to consider the proposed patent for the University Land Grant. See also, Archives of the University Manitoba(AUM), University Council Minutes, Book 1, 296-99.
30. AUM, University Council Minutes, Book 1, 323-27, Taché to Sir John Thompson, 28 December 1889.
31. Ibid.
32. Benoit, *Vie de Mgr. Taché*, vol. 2, 305.
33. AUM, University Council Minutes, Book 1, 327-31, Royal to Taché, 30 November 1889.
34. *Daily Free Press*, 23 November 1889, under the heading "The Land Grant," the report of the chancellor (Machray) of his recollections of the steps leading to the introduction of the bill to establish the university, 1877.
35. AUM, University Council Minutes, Book 1, 327-31, Royal to Taché, 30 November 1889; Bryce, "Manitoba University."
36. PAM, MG 12, B1, Morris to Dufferin, 25 January 1877.

10

The Church of England and the Manitoba School Question

Christopher Hackett

The Manitoba School Question is one of the most contentious issues in the histories of both Manitoba and Canada. One aspect that has been neglected, although often touched on or speculated about, is the relationship of the Anglo-Protestant churches of Manitoba to the school question. The subject is important not only because of the direct involvement of these churches in the issue but also because such a study should provide insights into the way support for essentially secular schools developed in the province.

The Church of England's involvement with primary education in what was to become the province of Manitoba began with the first parish school established by the Reverend John West in 1822. This and subsequent parish schools had two responsibilities. The schools provided a formal education for Native children, thus assisting in the process of converting them to Christianity, as well as offering a basic education for children of the Protestant settlers in the Red River colony. For the first forty years these schools remained few in number and were largely inefficient due to a lack of organization, unstable financial support, difficulty in obtaining qualified teachers and other demands on the time of the missionaries.[1] Thus in 1865 the church was represented by only a boarding school serving the wealthier members of the community and two or three parish schools entirely supported by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) which provided only a rudimentary education.[2]

This was to change dramatically in 1865 with the arrival of the second bishop of Rupert's Land, Robert Machray. Machray was committed to providing an effective and efficient school system as he considered this to be one of the paramount duties of the church.[3] Accordingly, despite the additional financial strain caused by a phased withdrawal of CMS support for the schools, he established sixteen schools over the next four years and developed, although never implemented, a scheme for a central inspector of Anglican schools.[4]

These schools conformed to the Church of England's model of education. They offered a broad secular education based on a traditional English curriculum and also provided an intensive program of religious instruction based upon the tenets of the church as supervised by the missionary of the parish.[5] However, the financial strain of maintaining the schools, exacerbated by the disruption in church finances caused by the Riel Rebellion, brought into question whether the church could continue to operate them.[6]

Relief came with the formation of the province of Manitoba in 1870. One of the responsibilities of the new province was to create a public school system. The Manitoba Act guaranteed that the existing rights and privileges in terms of education would be retained. Thus, at least theoretically, this put the Anglicans in a legal position to retain their schools. However, Machray agreed to amalgamate the church's schools with those of the Presbyterians to create a Protestant school system to be administered by the major Protestant denominations. The church believed that it could attain a compromise with the other Protestant denominations to allow for an acceptable minimum of religious education, while relieving the strain on their finances and time. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglicans did not feel that strictly denominational teaching was necessary nor did they believe they had a distinct culture to protect.

By an act of the provincial legislature of Manitoba in 1871, a dual school system of education was created which allowed for Protestant and Roman Catholic schools. A single board of education was established with two virtually autonomous sections, one responsible for Roman Catholic schools and the other for Protestant schools. Throughout the nineteen years this system operated, the control of both sections rested in the hands of clergymen, thus perpetuating the link between religion and education that had existed in the Red River era.

The agreement the Anglicans hoped to achieve on religious instruction in the schools never materialized. In practice the schools provided only religious exercises such as scripture readings and prayers, involving only memorization and repetition.[7] This was unacceptable to the Anglicans since they desired, at the very least, instruction in the meaning of both the biblical passages and in those beliefs the Protestant denominations held in common.[8] The problem in reaching an agreement appears to stem from the fact that immediately following Confederation the other Protestant denominations experienced a major influx of clergy from Ontario and these men quickly began to exert considerable influence over their churches. Ontario had already begun the shift away from distinctive religious instruction in the schools, leaving it instead to the homes and to the churches. As well, the direct influence of religious denominations in the public schools had been drastically curtailed. These new clergy accepted this separation of religion and education and their arrival produced a shift in attitudes that the Church of England had not expected based on its relations with other Protestant denominations in the Red River era.

These Ontario Protestants participated in an attack on the school system in the years 1875-1877, which was both anti-Roman Catholic and anti-French in tone as well as attacking the fundamental relationship between religion and education in Manitoba. Supported by the growing body of Ontario settlers and led by the Reverend George Bryce and the Reverend James Robertson, both of the Presbyterian Church, they demanded a nonsectarian school system with an elected board of education coupled with the compulsory use of English textbooks.[9] Although this group managed to achieve some minor changes in the dual school system, they did not attain their desired objectives. In the end these clergymen failed partly because of their own doubts of the constitutionality of their proposed measures but also because of the clear opposition to change from Bishop Machray and the Reverend John Black, perhaps the two most influential Protestant clergymen in the province.[10]

Frustrated by their failure to achieve reform the dissident clergymen transferred their attention from the school board as a whole to the Protestant section. Machray in turn was equally frustrated with their attitudes towards religious instruction in the schools, as can be seen in his address to the 1877 diocesan synod:

> It is with me a matter of regret that it seems so difficult to maintain in our Protestant Schools the giving of a religious education. If the leading Protestant denominations were unable to accept the same translation of the Bible, or if they differed from each other on the essential truths of the Apostles' Creed, then it might be hopeless to come to any understanding. But it is not so. I acknowledge in these days of a good secular education, and it is perfectly impossible for any separate Protestant denomination to undertake the work of efficiently supplying primary education in its parishes. . . . But I make these remarks because I see no necessity for our protestant schools being deprived of the precious privilege of religious teaching.[11]

Some progress was made over the next twelve years (1877-1889) towards establishing definite religious instruction in the Protestant schools, but it never reached the minimum desired by the Church of England. In 1880, a resolution was passed by the Protestant section of the school board which stated in principle the need for definite religious instruction and a committee was formed with representatives of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Anglican churches to attempt to identify ways of implementing the resolution.[12] In 1885 more complex religious exercises were adopted by the board and the committee was directed to continue its efforts to develop an acceptable religious curriculum.[13] The committee, however, never again made a report and no further changes occurred. Part of the reason for this was no doubt due to the difficulty in overcoming denominational differences.

Despite the fact that the Protestant schools never achieved the desired minimum of religious instruction, the Church of England continued to support the dual system as it existed. There were two major reasons for this. First, the alternatives were unacceptable — the church was in no financial position to return to the parish school system and the only other alternative which had been proposed was a completely secular school system which was simply unacceptable. Second, Machray did not believe that the system itself was at fault but rather it was those people who had been appointed to the board by the government. Referring to this point at the 1889 diocesan synod he stated:

> I have been all along aware that several of the members did not share my views — at one time I would have been in a small minority. But I have always regarded an attitude unfriendly to religious teaching in the

> schools for our children as so unnatural of religious men, that I have hoped for the gradual overcoming of the prejudices so that a more satisfactory system might be introduced.[14]

The dual school system was therefore an imperfect but acceptable compromise to the Church of England. While it placed obstacles in the way of achieving the desired minimum of religious education in the schools, it was felt that it was flexible enough that with patience and effort, these goals could be reached. Despite the difficulties experienced with the other Protestant denominations and the "denominational advantage" that it gave to their old rivals of the Roman Catholic Church, it was a system that the Anglicans felt was workable.

If the Church of England had had serious concerns about the dual school system, those concerns were minor in comparison with the ones that would occur with the development of the national school system. The repudiation of the dual school system, commonly referred to as the Manitoba School Question, has traditionally been viewed as a struggle between the French Roman Catholic minority and the English Protestant majority and as such as a microcosm of the struggles within Canadian Confederation.[15] While recognizing that this conflict was taking place, the Church of England considered the more important issue to be the conflict between secularism and religion in the schools. The national school system, imported from Ontario, stressed the minimization of differences between students in order to instill a common sense of identity in all Canadians. In order to do this the system made English the only acceptable language of instruction and reduced religion in the schools to a minimum if not eliminating it entirely. Introduced by the Public Schools Act of 1890, the new system was one to which the church was opposed not because of its impact on the French Roman Catholic minority but because it was viewed as the creation of a secular school system.

The first indication of the proposed changes in the school system which aroused the attention of the Church of England were the speeches given by D'Alton McCarthy, an anti-Roman Catholic, anti-French agitator from Ontario, and Joseph Martin, the attorney general of Manitoba, on 5 August 1889 at Portage la Prairie.[16] McCarthy encouraged the crowd to support an attack on the rights held by the French Roman Catholic minority in response to the passage of the Jesuit Estates Act in Québec. Martin followed McCarthy and pledged the Greenway government to the abolition of both the official status of French and of the dual school system and the introduction of a purely secular national school system.

It was this last point which caused the Church of England to take notice. In his address to the diocesan synod of that year, Machray registered strong opposition to the complete absence of religious education and suggested instead that a non-denominational approach be taken.[17] The system he preferred was the one used in London where there was one central board of education and non-sectarian religious instruction acceptable to both Roman Catholics and Protestants. Machray further argued that unless some religious education was guaranteed then the dual school system should be retained. Failing an acceptable solution, Machray warned that the church might be forced to return to the parish schools in place before 1871.

The synod essentially supported the tone of Machray's argument and ordered his address printed and read in every church in the diocese. However, discussion revealed that opinion within the church was not as united as Machray might have hoped. The issue of whether or not the church was prepared to return to the parish school system was sidestepped and was noticeably absent from the discussion following Machray's address. Some clergy wholeheartedly endorsed Machray's strong stand on religious instruction. Still more clergy, however, were torn between their loyalty to church doctrine and their approval of the political aims of the proposed new school system. Led by Canon J.D. O'Meara, their dislike of secular schools was only slightly greater than their dislike of Roman Catholic separate schools. O'Meara, for example, referred to the dual school system as the "lesser of two evils"[18] in an article on the proposed changes to the school system. More seriously, the laity at synod gave only lukewarm support to Machray's position, agreeing in principle that religious instruction was valuable in the schools but that it was not a necessity if it interfered with the more important political functions of the national schools.

Whether as a result of Machray's opposition, supported by a similar position adopted by the Reverend Dr. J.M. King of Manitoba College, or because the government had no intention of removing religion entirely from the schools, provision for religious exercises was made in the new Public Schools Act. The legislation created a Department of Education which consisted of an executive council and an advisory board.[19] The advisory board was to consist of seven members: four appointed by the government, two elected by public and high school teachers and one to be appointed by the university council. The advisory board had the power to make regulations regarding textbooks, curriculum, teacher qualifications, the appointment of examiners, and the forms of religious exercises for the schools. Religious exercises were limited by law to just before the closing hour in the afternoon, although they could be withheld entirely at the option of the district trustees and parents were allowed to absent their children if it was against their conscience.

Machray saw the national school system as simply one of three attacks by what he termed a "secular party" which was attempting to limit the role of religious denominations in Manitoba society. He was also concerned about the proposed establishment of a secular college within the University of Manitoba endowed by the government which would compete with and, due to its superior financial backing, threaten the very existence of the religious colleges.[20] Finally, he and other members of the clergy were outraged by the government's attempt to abolish the church exemption from taxation.[21] Opposed to the changes being made, Machray initially considered refusing the position on the advisory board that he had been unanimously elected to by the advisory council.[22] However, under pressure to accept, he changed his mind believing that he might be able to exert influence for good on the inside though intending, if no progress was made, to resign.[23] This was a serious mistake on the part of Machray. By accepting a position on the board and eventually its chairmanship, he was tacitly giving it support, diluting the impact of his criticisms of it or its policies.

The first meeting of the advisory board set the religious exercises as:

> a) the reading without note or comment of the following sections of the authorized English version of the Bible or the Douay version of the Bible [followed by a list of Old and New Testament scripture readings], b) the use of the following forms of prayer [followed by the Lord's Prayer plus two others].[24]

In the church's view this failed to meet their minimum standard of religious instruction in the schools. Although the number of religious exercises was not appreciably less than had been offered by the old Protestant section of the dual board (a point taken to be highly significant by Archbishop Taché when he was trying to prove that the new system was simply a continuation of the Protestant board),[25] the new system failed to provide any hope that more religious instruction could be instituted in the future. The fact that the district trustees could withhold religious instruction in their areas was also a grave concern for the church since Anglican children within these districts could be forced to attend purely secular schools. The Anglicans felt that the government, which had already demonstrated a secular bent, would dominate the advisory board and other bodies, limiting the value of the few concessions the church felt it had won.[26] In addition, inherent in the dual school system had been the relationship between religious denominations and education which did not hold true for the national schools. The old board had had its representatives selected on the basis of denominational affiliation. This resulted in a disproportionate number of clergymen sitting on the board. Although some clergymen did sit on the new board, they did so in their capacity as private citizens not because of their position as clergy. Thus, the change in the structure of the school system seriously reduced the influence of the clergy of all denominations over education.

While opposed to the new school system, and believing it was unacceptable in its existing form, the Church of England was unable to agree on any one policy for change. Philosophically, the church was united in its stand against the secularization of the schools. However, the synod could find no common ground on which to base any concrete actions. The church was divided about what changes were necessary and what options should be pressed. Basically, three positions arose at the annual meetings of the diocesan synod.[27] The first position was that of Bishop Machray who felt that if satisfactory changes could not be achieved in the new school system then a return to the old dual system should be agitated for; failing that the church should return to the parish system "as soon as conditions permitted."[28] The second position represented the majority of the clergy and was unofficially led by Canon O'Meara. They agreed with the bishop that the optimal approach would be to institute changes in the national system. Despite some anti-Roman Catholic attitudes and a support in principle of the assimilation of non-English peoples, this group would probably have agreed to a return to the dual system. The third viewpoint was largely represented by lay delegates to synod — the national school system was itself a good thing and they strongly endorsed the objective of encouraging the development of a single culture in Manitoba. They agreed with the need for religious instruction, but it was considered secondary to the value of the new schools as assimilatory tools. For the laity, the dictates of their church were secondary to their secular interests. Given that they were largely settlers from Ontario, they had been familiar with a basically secular school system. Indeed, some prominent lay Anglicans quite clearly undermined the interests of the church, a notable example being H.M. Howell, chancellor of the Diocese of Rupert's Land and legal adviser to the attorney general of Manitoba.[29] These differences of opinion essentially prevented the synod from producing a concrete plan of action to attain reforms in the school system. Instead, throughout the period 1889-1896, synod meetings produced only lowest common denominator resolutions simply urging the government to provide religious instruction or at least a fuller implementation of the religious exercises already allowable under the national system.

The importance of this is that while the resistance of the Church of England to "Godless schools" was publicly and privately noted in the society around them, Anglicans were not bound to follow any particular method of change in the schools. Thus they could support the national schools with a clear conscience. Combined with the serious distractions in terms of other vital issues at the time, the inability because of prejudice and philosophical differences of the Church of England to develop any form of common front with what was their only realistic ally, the Roman Catholic Church, and the overwhelming opposition they faced from their Protestant colleagues, prevented the Church of England from having any meaningful impact on the schools question.

The Church of England became an easy target for manipulation by both sides of the dispute because of its equivocal position both in registering strong opposition to the secularization of the schools and yet continuing to operate effectively within that system. For example, the Roman Catholics pointed to Machray as chairman of the advisory board and used this as part of an argument that the new board was simply a continuation of the old Protestant section of the dual board.[30] Government and other defenders of the national schools used the church's opposition to the new system and Machray's repeated references to the the potential for a return to a parish school system as support for the argument that special privileges for Roman Catholics would have to be extended to all who wanted them, leading to a fragmented and inefficient school system. The two most notable occurrences of this are the Logan v. Winnipeg case[31] and the debate between J.S.

Ewart, lawyer for the Roman Catholic Church, Canon J.D. O'Meara of the Church of England, the Reverend Alexander Grant of the Baptist Church, and the Reverend Hugh Pedley of the Congregational Church, held on 29 April 1895 and its aftermath debate in the newspapers.[32]

After 1896, the Manitoba School Question began to occupy less and less time of the diocesan synod. There are several reasons for this. First, the Laurier-Greenway compromise of 1896 allowed for a greater amount of religious instruction in the schools thus alleviating some of the concerns of the church.[33] Second, the health of Archbishop Machray and Canon O'Meara began to deteriorate (O'Meara died in 1901; Machray in 1904) which deprived the church of its two most active spokesmen on the issue.[34] A third reason was that the Manitoba School Question in general received much less public attention after the compromise and this probably caused a large number of the clergy to turn their attention to other matters. Finally, although the church never abandoned its view that religious instruction in the schools of Manitoba was insufficient (resolutions were still being passed to this effect in synod as late as 1916), the inability of the church to affect government policy must undoubtedly have lessened their desire to expend energy on what appeared to be a lost cause.

In conclusion, the Church of England engaged in a long, frustrating and, ultimately, futile struggle to provide what it saw as an appropriate education for its children. Eventually, the relationship between the church and school was eroded past the tolerance point of the Church of England. In attempting to rectify the shortcomings of the national schools, the church discovered that Manitoba society had changed such that the church's traditional model of education had no place. Sadly when the church discussed the need to return religious instruction to the schools, it was confronted with the reality that its own laity no longer felt bound or committed to that tradition.

NOTES

1. The difficulties in operating parish schools are discussed in K. Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967), 46-92; see also "Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools in the Province of Manitoba, 1871," *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba* (1872), Appendix 17, pp. xlvi-lxiii.
2. R.A. Machray, *Life of Archbishop Machray* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1909), 125.
3. Ibid.
4. Affidavit of Bishop Robert Machray in the case of Logan v. Winnipeg, 1891, reprinted in J.S. Ewart, *The Manitoba School Question* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1894), 14.
5. Ibid.
6. For the impact of the rebellion on church financing see Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), Church Missionary Society Archives (CMSA), MG 7, B2, A98, R.A. Machray to W. Venn, 17 December 1870; see also "Report of the Superintendent," 1-2.
7. PAM, Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land (ARL), PRL-84-37, Proceedings of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, 1877, p. 4.
8. Ibid.

9. R.E. Clague, "The Political Aspects of the Manitoba School Question 1890-1896" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1939), 86-112.

10. Ibid., 107; see also *Manitoba Free Press*, 3 February 1877.

11. PAM, ARL, Proceedings of the Synod, 1877, p. 4.

12. PAM, RG 19, A1, Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Protestant Section of the Board of Education, 5 May 1880.

13. Ibid., 4 November and 2 December 1885.

14. Introduction to the pamphlet "Address Delivered by the Bishop of Rupert's Land Before the Anglican Synod December 1889," in Ewart, *The Manitoba School Question*, 161.

15. For a brief historiography of the school question, see G. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 215-18.

16. This point should not be taken as any indication of when the school question originated (see Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 215-17). This refers only to the events which alerted the Church of England to the impending dispute.

17. While there is a brief summary of the 1889 Synod in the "Proceedings of Synod of the Diocesan of Rupert's Land," available in PAM, ARL, the debate is best seen by examining newspaper accounts of synod. See *Manitoba Free Press*, 30-31 October 1889.

18. St John's College Archives, J.D. O'Meara, "The School Question," *St. John's College Magazine* 5, no. 23 (November 1889): 347.

19. S.E. Lang, "History of Education in Manitoba," reprinted in L.C. Clark, ed., *The Manitoba School Question: Majority Rule or Minority Rights* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1968), 17.

20. PAM, CMSA, A116, Bishop Machray to Rev. F.E. [Wigram], 16 July 1891.

21. PAM, MG 4, B1, Sir John A. MacDonald Papers, W.B. Scarth to Sir John A. MacDonald, 10 April 1890. See also *Manitoba Free Press*, 29 October 1890.

22. PAM, CMSA, A116, Bishop Machray to Rev. F.E. [Wigram], 16 July 1891.

23. PAM, MG 6, A3, S.P. Matheson Collection, D.J. Goggins to S.P. Matheson, 7 May 1890, illustrates some of the pressure being applied to Machray to accept.

24. PAM, RG 19, B1, Minutes of the Advisory Board of Education, 21 May 1890.

25. Archbishop Alexandre Taché, "Are the Public Schools of Manitoba the Continuation of the Protestant Schools of the Same Province," reprinted in Ewart, *The Manitoba School Question*, 139-59.

26. R.A. Machray, *Life of Archbishop Machray*, 352.

27. PAM, ARL, PRL-84-37 contains the proceedings of the various meetings of the diocesan synods covering the period in question. Since these are only summaries, the only way to gain an accurate appreciation of the debates is to read the corresponding accounts in the *Manitoba Free Press*.

28. *Manitoba Free Press*, 30 October 1889.

29. J.W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1931), 44, tacitly acknowledges Howell and another prominent Anglican, W.E. Perdue, as the masterminds behind Logan v. Winnipeg, a case which seriously undermined the Church of England's position in relation to reforming the national schools.

30. Taché pamphlet, in Ewart, *Manitoba School Question*, 139-59.

31. The Logan v. Winnipeg case was a challenge to the 1890 school legislation. Although it was presented as an action of the Church of England, it was actually arranged by the provincial government in an attempt to discredit the Roman Catholic court case, Barrett v. Winnipeg. See W.T. Shaw, "The Role of J.S. Ewart in the Manitoba School Question" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1959); see also Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton*, 44-45; see also Ewart, *Manitoba School Question*, 16; see also editorial "A Pretence — A Farce — A Fraud," *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 December 1891.

32. During this debate Canon O'Meara was forced into the position of having to deny that there was any support for denominational schools within the Church of England. He was challenged on this by the Reverend Grant and the two engaged in a heated exchange of letters to the editor in the *Manitoba Free Press*. O'Meara was publicly humiliated when Grant demonstrated Archbishop Machray's position using excerpts from synod reports. See *Manitoba Free Press*, 30 April, 3 May, 1 July, 3 July 1895.
33. For reactions of Archbishop Machray and Canon O'Meara to the compromise, see *Winnipeg Tribune*, 21 November 1896.
34. Machray, *Life of Archbishop Machray*, 400, 428.

11

The Anglican Church in Western James Bay: Positive Influence or Destructive Force?

John S. Long

Most published comment on the roles of the church and its impact on Native peoples has been undertaken by clergymen, church administrators or others identified with denominational activities. There are useful reference works, to be sure, but even T.C.B. Boon's *The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies* is colored by his religious affiliation. Less scholarly publications, such as Olive M. Petersen's *The Land of Moosoneek*, are even more parochial and deficient.[1]

Reviewing the literature on Christian missions, James Ronda and James Axtell concluded that historians were blinded by the glow of the clergymen's halos, and had stood in awe instead of trying to understand them; ethnocentric mission reports were too often accepted at face value. This situation has begun to change as ethnohistorians examine the roles of the various churches and their impact on Native peoples.[2]

Describing early missionary contacts in British Columbia, Robin Fisher writes: "Unlike those of the trader, the demands of the missionary could not be incorporated into existing Indian society; their teaching and their example had to be either accepted or rejected, and acceptance meant virtually a total cultural change for the proselyte."[3] Fisher overlooks a third option — adapting Christianity to fit Native beliefs — and in so doing he denies Native people an active role in these encounters.

In the author's study of nineteenth-century Methodist and Anglican missionaries and the adoption of Christianity by the Omushkegowuk (western James Bay Cree),[4] it was found that Christian rites and beliefs were fairly easily reconciled with existing Native practices and thought. This was a period of largely non-directed culture change, before residential schools were established, when most Cree spent only a few weeks at the mission stations (Moose Factory and Fort Albany).[5]

Assessing the missionaries' impact is no easy matter. John Webster Grant, in *The Moon of Wintertime* (a useful synthesis of the literature on Native missions in Canada), cautions that

> estimates of the effects of Christian missions on Indian life are likely to depend, in the final analysis, on whether they are distinguished from the total impact of the European presence or included as an integral part of it. If reckoned as a distinct entity, they may well be seen as mitigating some of its harmful effects. If lumped in, they will almost certainly be condemned for their complicity in undermining the bases of Indian society.

Unfortunately, there has not been a study comparable to Daniel Francis and Toby Morantz's *Partners in Furs* for western James Bay. Nor is it known what impact the Reverend John French and the seventeenth century Jesuits had on the Cree, or the impact which the many marriages *à la façon du pays* between Christian European men and Cree women may have had on Cree beliefs.[6]

These difficulties have not prevented a few authors from attempting to gauge missionary impact. Donald Pugh's 1975 piece "Christianity and Its Effect on the Early Moose Factory Cree" and Morris Zaslow's 1979 article "The Dilemmas of the Northern Missionary Diocese: The Case of the Anglican See of Moosonee" simply continue in the congratulatory vein of earlier historians, perpetuating what Francis Jennings has called the "Crusador ideology." There are, however, some useful anthropological works. John M. Cooper's study in the 1930s relied largely on Anglican Cree informants whose parents were some of the first converts to Christianity.[7]

By combining Native testimony based on oral tradition with the extensive writings of the Reverend George Barnley, the Right Reverend John Horden (first bishop of Moosonee) and Native Archdeacon Thomas Vincent, and critically examining both types of sources, we can gain some idea of the missionaries' impact.[8]

During the 1840s and 1850s, the Omushkegowuk began to adopt the name *kitchii manitu*, incorporating the Christian God with their own notions of a superior being (not supreme and not necessarily named *manitu*) and their concept of *wiihtikow* with the Christian devil. The Christian rites of baptism, marriage, confirmation, communion, and burial, were also adopted, but incorporated with and added to traditional practices and notions of power.[9]

The Cree enthusiastically accepted Cree syllabics. Missionary translations like the *Bible*, the *Anglican Catechism*, the *Bible and Gospel History*, the *Anglican Prayer Book*, the *Hymn Book*, calendars, and *Pilgrim's Progress* became popular, and were also thought to possess power.[10]

Hymns replaced hunting songs.[11] Praying to God or appealing to Jesus became accepted as another means of obtaining help, power or control.[12] Native catechists and other lay leaders were trained but, unfortunately, their roles in the history of the early James Bay missions are inadequately recorded.

The separation of Christian and pre-Christian Native souls, in heaven and hell respectively, was a potentially divisive concept threatening important Cree notions of community. Horden may have favored an inclusive view of heaven, as the Anglican church does today. More likely, the Cree were skeptical of the existence of the Christian hell, or confident that they and their loved ones (past and present) would not go there. Since, in Cree tradition, only a *wiihtikow* would be consigned to destruction by fire, hell would be a place for "relatively few monstrous persons, and not the everyday sinner."[13]

Denominational competition certainly divided the Native population at Fort Albany, who lived in the largely Anglican community of Kashechewan and the largely Roman Catholic community at Sinclair Island. This holy war spread throughout James Bay, and reached its peak during the first half of the twentieth century in the heyday of denominational residential schools and hospitals. An Anglican man recalled his experience in the Roman Catholic community of Attawapiskat, north of Fort Albany:

> The [Anglican] minister [from Fort Albany] usually visited and conducted services. There was a Mr. Duncan [for the Hudson's Bay Company] and a Mr. Pearson for the French Company [Revillon Frères]; they often conducted services [in the minister's absence]. . . There were few of us Anglicans. Only four families. There was much dissension between the Anglicans and Catholics. The missionaries, especially the priests, were bad. I saw it myself. There were two churches.
>
> One summer, six of the Catholic men came to our church. The Catholic priest heard about this. Knowing that he would talk about this, I went to the next Catholic service to listen. He said in his sermon that those who went to that church had stepped over the devil at the entrance to the church as they went in. He motioned with his leg, as if to step over an invisible object. I heard this myself. I didn't make up this story. . .
>
> [Later] I went to buy bread at the Catholic priest's residence. When I was there he asked me, "What do you think of what you heard me saying last service?"
>
> I replied, "I really don't care. It doesn't bother me. He that takes care of us will know what is to be done. We can't be the judge of these things. It's not for us to decide." He didn't say anything.[14]

Roman Catholics could tell similar stories about former Anglican clergymen. Today, however, ecumenical attitudes are the rule.

The church failed to develop self-supporting congregations (except at Moose Factory, and there only with difficulty in the last decade). In 1893, at the time of Horden's death, the Natives contributed at most three per cent of diocesan income. The Cree could hardly contribute any more, and so funds were sought elsewhere — encouraging them to believe that generous Anglicans in the outside world would provide for their needs. This dependency is understandable, for Horden noted that Christian notions of regular almsgiving were entirely foreign to the Cree: "Liberality to those in distress is supposed to result more from an abundance of one's possessions than from a sense of honourable duty." The church also failed to produce an adequate supply of Native clergymen, compounding the sense of dependency.[15] Important Cree roles — as healers, community helpers, religious leaders, teachers, and jurists — were assumed by Europeans.

As railways, lumbering, mining, and settlement approached from southern Ontario, the church helped prepare for the integration of Natives moving south to Chapleau or Misenabie. The church had helped provide them with rudimentary schooling. By joining the church, the Cree had also accepted one of the world's major faiths. But church congregations in northern boom towns like Chapleau, where the diocesan headquarters was briefly relocated in the early 1900s, were not necessarily interested in being integrated with the Cree. Bishop George Holmes remarked:

> With some very bright exceptions, they are the scum of the town and a disgrace to our Church, and if they are an example of what our Indians on the Bay are to become when brought into close contact with civilization, the prospect is one which we must dread. . .
>
> I can assure you that we have already a sufficient number of Indian prostitutes in Chapleau to contaminate all the young white men in it. . . At the age of 14 or 15 years, they begin to walk the streets.[16]

These attitudes were probably typical of the time.[17]

The church helped those Natives who remained attached to the James Bay communities to become literate. Since school attendance was not enforced, Cree children (except for orphans) were only exposed to the strange school environment by parental choice.[18]

The distinctive syllabic system helped maintain their sense of separateness. Grant suggests that syllabics damaged the oral tradition, but this was not the case in the James Bay region. Horden recognized, even in the 1870s, that some of the Native legends were being "polluted" by biblical borrowing. When anthropologist Alanson Skinner visited James Bay in 1908 and 1909, he wrote pessimistically,

> It is now very hard to find anyone able to relate the myths and legends of the [James Bay] Cree. The younger generation usually remembers only fragments of the stories, and they object strongly to relating them in this form.[19]

But many decades later, some of the narratives that Skinner recorded — such as the story of *Wemishush*, which illustrates the Cree notion of dream helpers — are still being told by old men who were infants when those comments were written. Cree elders like James Wesley of Kashechewan are masters of the oral tradition, devout Anglicans *and* fluent in Cree syllabics.[20]

The church was unable to eliminate many Cree values and beliefs. All the men who told stories about *wiihtikows* (or the more modern expression *ootchiskwachiw*), the shaking tent and the power of "the book" are devout Anglicans. The church discouraged cannibalism, but the Cree rarely resorted to the practice, and then only when faced with starvation. Its incidence has been overstated in church literature, and the *wiihtikow* concept has been oversimplified. The *wiihtikow* was a threatening influence or antisocial quality, not necessarily a person, and not simply a cannibal (as one conference participant acknowledged when he stated that "the government is our *wiihtikow*").[21]

Mercy killings were occasionally required when food resources failed, but Horden surely exaggerated when he stated "formerly the sick and aged were almost invariably put to death; a headache would almost secure a bowstring." A very powerful shaman might commit murder and escape censure, but in other cases invited revenge and retaliation. Mary Ann D., poorly dressed, froze to death five miles from Moose Factory in 1865, when her family left her behind. When David C. starved a boy to death, in 1898, he was excommunicated for more than a year.[22] These were antisocial acts by both Cree *and* European standards.

The Cree began to lose control of their system of justice during the missionary era. In 1880 Magistrate E.B. Borron observed that while the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) had "been prompt to punish any crime committed against the Company's property or servants," — as with the Henley House or Hannah Bay murders — "they have, as a rule, kept themselves entirely aloof from the disputes, feuds and quarrels of the Indians." This policy of non-intervention began to change in the missionary era under study. Horden wrote the Honorable A. Campbell, minister of Justice in 1883: "All matters requiring settlement are submitted to me, or to one of the HBC's Officers, and our decision is respected."[23]

Missionaries may have modified the Native justice system in positive ways. Sergie Kan, in his study of missionary impact, found that the church introduced the concept of forgiveness to the Tlingit. Among the pre-Christian Omushkegowuk, murder led to retaliation — either through overt vengeance (an "eye for an eye") or sorcery. Anglican missionaries promoted more peaceful interpersonal relations ("forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us").[24]

Mary Black Rogers notes that, for the Ojibwa, "the whole living world is seen as potentially dangerous." Richard Preston explains that the environment was not as threatening for the Cree of eastern James Bay as Euro-Canadians might think, and he argues convincingly that the Eastern Cree accepted a contingent life.[25] Yet there were certainly people who were bothered by dreams, and there were some conjurers who were feared.

The church's teachings may have lessened people's fear, but in return it merely provided them with more respectable Christian "superstitions." It is difficult to see a positive influence in the case of one elderly Cree woman known by the author. Confined to her house for years because of illness, she is alive today because of Western medicine which missionaries introduced to the Natives. A century ago, she might have attributed her troubles to sorcery;[26] today she is puzzled by the *Anglican Prayer Book*'s notion that the sick are "wounded by their sins."

Perhaps the most destructive effects of the church's teachings lies in the suppression of traditional Cree healing and the attitude which many older (Christian) Crees convey about their past, especially their attitude to some traditional Cree beliefs. The Cree have partially reinterpreted their past through Christian eyes. As Honigmann notes, it is now often seen as

> a time of sorcery and evil, when the devil helped certain men [and women] (shamans) to extend their ordinary human power. People do not doubt the efficacy of shamanism in general nor have they lost their belief in sorcery. Evil men still exist and may utilize these channels to effect

> revenge for wrongs committed against them. But no longer do individuals seek [pre-Christian] spirit helpers.[27]

This is a far cry from the nineteenth century Cree, for whom shamanism was also believed to serve useful, positive ends, such as healing, locating lost objects or determining the location of game. Some people now claim that there was no conjuring at Moose Factory, but this was once an integral part of their culture. The shaking tent, traditional songs and indigenous drumming[28] have been almost eradicated on western James Bay. The few old people who may know a good deal about these subjects are often reluctant to speak about them.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Anglican church was both a positive and a destructive influence on the western James Bay Cree. But so long as hunting and trapping remained viable, and before Cree children were forcefully resocialized in residential schools, the James Bay Natives were able to make intelligent choices, easily modifying the effects of Christianity. By separating their religious life into bush and town spheres,[29] and by syncretizing their beliefs, they avoided confrontation with missionaries and preserved or revitalized their traditional beliefs.

This article has emphasized that Christian Crees retained many of their traditional beliefs and were actors, not merely victims. This is not meant to contradict the experience of many Native people who lived in later times. Nor is it intended to understate the missionaries' impact, even during the nineteenth century. The Reverend Stan McKay in his commentary at the conference drew attention to what he called a European mission based on "aggression, strength and truth" which had been waged on "non-aggressive, respectful, humble Native people." Other studies are needed, including an analysis of socioeconomic changes during the nineteenth century. Hopefully Crees will one day write their own history of missionary encounters.[30] In the meantime, a more detailed study of existing oral traditions, and analysis of the fieldnotes kept by Cooper, Regina Flannery and Truman Michelson may help us to better understand why the Omushkegowuk apparently abandoned their shaking tent and their traditional songs, drums and dream-helpers.[31]

NOTES

I am indebted to James Wesley of Kashechewan and the late Willie Wesley of Moose Factory for their narratives, to the Canadian Ethnology Service (National Museums of Canada) for a personal service contract to record them, and to Norm Wesley for his generous assistance in interviewing and translating. Thanks to C. Douglas Ellis for suggestions on Cree orthography, although I absolve him of any responsibility for my errors. Gratitude is also expressed to Dick Preston and Barry Ferguson for their critical comments on an earlier draft, and to Hesh Troper for his encouragement and editorial suggestions during the writing of the dissertation on which this article is based. My apologies to most Cree-speakers, who will find my spelling of Cree words to be unusual.

1. Thomas C. B. Boon, *The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies: A History of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land and Its Dioceses From 1820 to 1950*

(Toronto: Ryerson, 1962), 275-76, 463-64; Olive Mackay Petersen, *The Land of Moosoneek* (n.p.: Bryant, 1974), 9.

2. James P. Ronda and James Axtell, *Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 1-2.

3. Robin A. Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian and European Relations in British Columbia 1774-1890* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977), 123.

4. In August of 1987, by formal resolution, the chiefs, councillors and elders from seven "Cree" communities near western James and Hudson Bay (Peawanuck, Attawapiskat, Kashechewan, Fort Albany, Moose Factory, Mocreebec and New Post) adopted the name Omushkegowuk for their general membership and Mushkegowuk Council for their tribal council. See also David H. Pentland, "Synonymy," in William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 6, *Subarctic*, ed. June Helm (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), 227-30.

5. John S. Long, "'Shaganash': Early Protestant Missionaries and the Adoption of Christianity by the Western James Bay Cree, 1840-1893" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1986). Schools were designed for a dual Native clientele; see John S. Long, "Education in the James Bay Region During the Horden Years," *Ontario History* 70, no. 2 (1978): 75-89.

6. John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 112, 258; Daniel Francis and Roby Morantz, *Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay 1600-1870* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983); Shepard Krech, ed., *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984); Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980). Biographies of the Reverends John French and Thomas Anderson, and Jesuit Fathers Charles Albanel, Claude Allouez, Antoine Dalmas, Pierre-Gabriel Marest and Antoine Silvy can be found in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966 and 1969), vols. 1 and 2.

7. *The Northland* 31, no. 4 (Summer 1975): 9-13; *Laurentian University Review* 11, 2 (1979): 101-16; Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: Norton, 1975) 3; "The Northern Algonquian Supreme Being," *Primitive Man* 6, nos. 3-5 (1933): 41-111. On the impact of the Roman Catholic Church see Richard J. Preston, "Catholicism at Attawapiskat: A Case of Culture Change," in William Cowan, ed., *Papers of the Eighteenth Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1987), 271-86, and "James Bay Cree Syncretism: Persistence and Replacement," in William Cowan, ed., *Papers of the Nineteenth Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa; Carleton University, 1988), 147-55.

8. Barnley's journal and papers (Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society) were consulted at the United Church Archives, Toronto. Horden's and Vincent's materials (Church Missionary Society(CMS)) were consulted at the Anglican Church General Synod Archives(ACGSA), Toronto.

9. John S. Long, "*Manitu*, Power, Books and *Wiihtikow*: Some Factors in the Adoption of Christianity by Nineteenth-Century Western James Bay Cree," *Native Studies Review* 3, no. 1 (1987): 1-30.

10. At Moose Factory in the 1850s, missionary John Horden was besieged with requests for books and paper, and received syllabic letters from former students, in Long, "*Manitu*," 17. In John S. Murdock, "Syllabics: A Successful Educational Innovation" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1981), the origins of syllabics and the ease with which the system was learned are discussed.

    Since mission publications were valued for their intrinsic "power," their popularity does not mean that they were read by everyone. In an oral culture, one literate person could convey the written message to many others. At Fort George, on eastern James Bay, early records indicate that young people were the first to learn the new system; John S. Long, "Rev. Edwin Watkins, Missionary to the Cree: 1852-1857," in William Cowan, ed., *Papers of the Sixteenth Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1985), 91-117.

Signatories to Treaty No. 9 give some indication of how many older men could write their names in syllabics by 1905. At Moose Factory, six of the ten headmen signed in Cree syllabics, the others made an "X." Further north, at Fort Albany, none of the ten headmen signed in syllabics (all made an "X") — yet they apparently presented the Treaty Commissioners with an address in Cree syllabics. In "The Last of the Indian Treaties," *Scribner's Magazine* 40, no. 5 (November 1906): 581-82, Treaty Commissioner Duncan C. Scott remarked, "The use of the syllabic characters is common on the river. Here and there messages from one group of Indians to another were met with, written upon birch bark and fixed to a stick driven into the ground in some prominent position — announcements that the fishing was poor and they had gone to Winisk; that if Cheena's boy was met with, tell him his father was building canoes two days' journey up the Chepy River."

11. Unfortunately, this has not been described on western James Bay. In the 1930s, J. Emile Saindon described a lullaby and a "conjuration song" in "Two Cree Songs From James Bay," *Primitive Man* 7, no. 1 (1934): 6-7. For the East Cree see Richard J. Preston, "Transformations Musicales et Culturelles Chez les Cris de l'Est" and Lynn Whidden "Les Hymnes, Une Anomalie parmi Les Chants Traditionnels des Cris du Nord," in *Recherches Amerindiennes au Québec* 15, no. 4 (1985): 19-28.
12. Long, "*Manitu*."
13. Personal communication.
14. Interview with Willie Wesley, 26 May 1984 (translated by Norman F. Wesley). Original tape deposited with Canadian Ethnology Service, Ottawa.
15. ACGSA, CMS, A-89, Horden to Knight, 15 September 1859, Horden Journal, 29 March 1862. On Native clergymen see Long, "Shaganash," chapter 4; an earlier version is John Long, "Archdeacon Thomas Vincent of Moosonee and the Handicap of Métis Racial Status," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3, no. 1 (1983): 95-116.
16. *The Moosonee and Keewatin Mailbag* 5, no. 5 (January 1908): 88; ACGSA, S. H. Blake Papers, November 1907 to January 1908, Bishop Holmes to Blake, 4 February 1907.
17. See, for example, Jean Barman "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884-1920" in Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert and Don McCaskill, eds., *Indian Education in Canada*, Vol. 1: *The Legacy* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 110-31.
18. Long, "Shaganash," 133-37.
19. Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 112; ACGSA, CMS, A-102, comments on stories of Nanash and Chichiwachenish following Horden's sermon of 14 May 1876 at the ordination of John Sanders; Alanson Skinner "Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 9, no. 1 (1911): 81.
20. The legend of *Mishii Shikak* is also still told. Regina Flannery and M. Elizabeth Chambers, in "Each Man Has His Own 'Friends': The Role of Dream-Visitors in Traditional East Cree Belief and Practice," *Arctic Anthropology* 22, no. 1 (1985): 1-22, discuss change in the East Cree legend of *Chou-a*.
21. ACGSA, CMS, A-89, Horden Journal, 9 December 1851; Louis Marano, "Windigo Psychosis: The Anatomy of an Emic-Etic Confusion," *Current Anthropology* 23, no. 4 (August 1982): 385-412; Regina Flannery, Mary Elizabeth Chambers and Patricia A. Jehle, "Witiko Accounts From the James Bay Cree," *Arctic Anthropology* 18, no. 4 (Winter 1981): 57-77; John J. Honigmann, "The Attawapiskat Swampy Cree: An Ethnographic Reconstruction," *Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska* 5, no. 1 (1956): 23-82; J. Emile Saindon,

"Mental Disorders Among the James Bay Cree," *Primitive Man* 6, no. 1 (January 1933): 1-12.

22. There is no indication whether the offenders were ever charged under criminal law. ACGSA, CMS, A-89, Horden Journal, 28 June 1861, Horden to Venn, 3 September 1861; A-98, Vincent Journal, 10 December 1865, Vincent to Society, 9 February 1866; Diocese of Moosonee, Moose Factory Parish Records, Preacher's Book 1893-1906, 18 April 1898 and 29 August 1899. See also ACGSA, CMS, A-88, Horden Journal, September 1855; A-89, Horden Journal, 27 May 1858, 7 June 1862.
23. Edward Barnes Borron, "Report on that Part of the Basin of Hudson's Bay Awarded to the Province of Ontario and included in the District of Nipissing," *Ontario Sessional Papers No. 22* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1880), 35; ACGSA, Horden Letterbook 1883-1887, Horden to Campbell, 14 February 1883, p. 65.
24. Honigmann "The Attawapiskat Swampy Cree," 64; Sergei Kan, "'Trampling Down Death By Death. . .': Russian Orthodox Easter Among the Tlingit," paper presented at the 1985 Ethnohistory Conference, Chicago; ACGSA, CMS, A-88, Horden Journal, September 1855; A-98, Vincent to Society, 9 February 1866; A-98, Vincent Journal, 10 December 1865; A-89, Horden Journal, 27 May 1858, 7 June 1862; A-104, Vincent to CMS, 19 January 1880; Diocese of Moosonee, Moose Factory Parish Records, Preacher's Book 1893-1906, 18 April 1898 and 29 August 1899.
25. Mary B. Black, "Ojibwa Taxonomy and Precept Ambiguity," *Ethos* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1977): 91; Richard J. Preston, *Cree Narrative: Expressing the Personal Meanings of Events* (Ottawa: Museum of Man, 1975), 235.
26. See, for example, Honigmann, "The Attawapiskat Swampy Cree," 75-76.
27. John J. Honigmann, "Attawapiskat — Blend of Traditions," *Anthropologica* 6 (1958): 60.
28. The traditional drum was small and hand-held; see Honigmann, "The Attawapiskat Swampy Cree," 56. Since the 1970s a pan-Indian powwow complex has become increasingly popular throughout James Bay. The powwow drum (which originated in the northern plains region) is much larger, is placed on the ground and used by a group of drummers/singers. See also Preston, "Transformations Musicales."
29. Adrian Tanner, *Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters* (St. John's: Memorial University, 1979), 211.
30. Norman F. Wesley's unpublished manuscript, "In Search of Cree Reality," in the author's possession.
31. From a fatalistic (and Christian) Cree perspective, some might argue that God took these powers away from them as punishment for engaging in sorcery.

Bishop Bompas and the Canadian Church

12

Kerry Abel

In a recent essay, historian Cornelius Jaenen commented, "If historians have paid insufficient attention to Amerindian realities, values, and ethos at the time of contact between European and Amerindian, it may be equally true that insufficient thought has been given to European realities, values, and cosmography of the colonial period."[1] The observation is particularly apt in the case of the missionary-Native encounter. Only recently have historians turned to the questions of who these missionaries actually were, and what they themselves perceived as their methods and goals. Such studies have tended to focus on the socioeconomic background of the missionaries or their roles as cultural brokers, but most tend to avoid the question of religious ideas and doctrine in defining mission goals and techniques. Clearly it makes sense methodologically to examine the missionary on the terms which were fundamental to his/her personal world view. Any attempt to understand the role of the missionary as an agent of culture change among aboriginal peoples must first come to terms with the missionary's concept of his or her own position, and the implications these beliefs had for the direction of the mission work. A case study of the relationship between William Carpenter Bompas, a representative of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in the Canadian north from 1865 to 1906, and the Anglican church in Canada provides a useful illustration of the importance of religious doctrine and the implications it had for the outcome of mission work.

William Carpenter Bompas was born to a Baptist family in London, England on 20 January 1834. He began his education intending to enter the legal profession, but a breakdown changed his plans. He "converted" to Anglicanism and commenced work in an English working-class parish, where he began to show an interest in the program of the CMS. Coincidentally, Bishop David Anderson of Rupert's Land was in England campaigning for men and money to support the CMS missions of "North West America." Bompas volunteered, was ordained a priest, and left immediately for his post in the District of Mackenzie. He arrived at Fort Simpson to report to William West Kirkby in December 1865.

The CMS, to which Bompas had just committed himself, had been founded in 1799 by a group of Church of England laymen and clergy who were dissatisfied with the older mission societies (notably the SPG and the SPCK) because of their lack of support for evangelical beliefs and causes. The CMS was to be firmly evangelical as leading promoter John Venn emphasized in his first address to the young society, "the Mission must be founded upon 'the Church-principle', not the 'high-Church principle'; and if clergymen cannot be found, send out laymen."[2] Besides its evangelical moorings, the society was also noted for its "Native church policy," developed by Henry Venn, who served as CMS secretary from 1842 until his death in 1873. According to Venn, the goal of the CMS missionary was to assist the "heathen" of the world to see the light of salvation and then to guide the converts toward establishing their own self-supporting and self-regenerating church. As he explained in 1860, "A Mission is only a scaffolding for the building of the spiritual temple of the Native Church."[3] Therefore, the missionary was to be no more than a catalyst, and the "euthanasia" of the mission was to be his goal.[4] The Native church policy reflected an implicit respect for Native abilities, and a belief that mankind shared God's promises equally.

Throughout his lengthy career in the north, Bompas expressed misgivings about the concept of a Native church, and later in life, he directly rejected the theory. However, he was in complete sympathy with the CMS emphasis on evangelicalism. In fact, he frequently outdid the CMS in his strict adherence to what he considered evangelical principles. He was determinedly idealistic about the promise of salvation through the realization of sin and the acceptance of true faith. He felt church rituals such as crosses, candles, incense and processions were insults to God. Practices like confession, veneration of the Virgin Mary, prayers for the dead, or the formation of religious communities were medieval inventions which had to be swept aside in order to return to the purity of the early church. Ministers had no power to pardon sin or act as mediators between God and man; their sole duty was to preach the gospel as "servants" of the laity rather than its masters. Baptism did not spiritually regenerate the recipient or guarantee him a place in heaven; infant baptism was to be viewed only as an "anticipation" of real conversion which would come later through faith and penitence. Apostolic succession was an invention of "Tractarians;" the powers of the apostles and the priesthood of Christ were not transmittable since each minister received his commission personally and directly from God.[5] Even toward the end of his life, Bompas still perceived himself as an "old fashioned Evangelical." "Between the High and the Broad," he reflected, "I must needs myself be deemed exceedingly narrow."[6] Those evangelical convictions were at the root of his early reluctance to establish schools or model farms in his diocese. He chose his mission agents according to their support for the evangelical doctrines rather than their educational or personal suitability for the work. And, somewhat ironically, it was those evangelical beliefs which determined his opposition to the Native church policy itself.

Bompas came to the north on the understanding that missionary Robert McDonald was ill and about to leave his work amongst the Loucheux (Kutchin). However, McDonald's health improved, so Bompas spent his first years travelling under the supervision of W.W. Kirkby at Fort Simpson. When Kirkby left in 1868, Bompas became the superintendent of the Mackenzie missions. In 1873, Bishop Robert Machray of Rupert's Land arranged the organization of the Diocese of Athabasca, and proposed that Bompas be consecrated as its first bishop. Bompas, with his evangelical distaste for any sort of church organization, was taken aback at the idea, and travelled to England in 1874 in an attempt to dissuade the CMS from accepting Machray's proposal. The CMS was anxious to appoint a bishop who supported it, and so Henry Wright negotiated an arrangement with Bompas whereby he "would accept the office of a bishop without the dignity" and continue his mission duties.[7] Bompas was consecrated bishop of the Diocese of Athabasca on 3 May, and four days later married his forty-four year old cousin, Charlotte Selina Cox. His bride saw herself as a missionary in her own right, and dedicated her life from that time to the northern work which her husband had begun.[8] When the Diocese of Athabasca was divided in 1885, Bompas became bishop of Mackenzie River. His diocese was divided again, in 1890, and he became bishop of Selkirk. He died at Carcross, Yukon in June 1906.

Bompas was a curious man. Revered by the evangelicals as the closest thing to a saint which they could accept, he was reviled by non-churchmen as a madman. Father Emile Grouard was perplexed about him from the beginning. "This man is a mystery to me," he wrote. "If he is quite sincere, he is almost a saint. If not — he is truly a devil."[9] During Bompas's forty-one years in the north, he visited the "outside" world only twice: the first in 1874 when he travelled to England and the second in 1904 when he addressed the provincial synod of Rupert's Land in Winnipeg as senior bishop following the death of Archbishop Machray. Mrs. Bompas, however, served as an important contact with Canada and England. Because of health and other problems, she spent a total of three years living in Winnipeg, three in England, and four in Montréal while the bishop worked in the north.[10]

Bompas's exile in the north was clearly self-imposed. He received numerous invitations from his fellow Rupert's Land clergy to visit Winnipeg and attend the provincial synods, and the CMS secretaries were urging him constantly to undertake speaking tours in Canada to generate interest and money for the northern missions, but he consistently refused. He did not enjoy fund raising, he had little interest in the business details of his work, and the time required for such travel would detract from his evangelizing mission. There was another problem. He did not like what he saw happening to the Anglican church in Canada.

Six years prior to Confederation, the Anglican dioceses of eastern British North America had formed the Provincial Synod of Canada, but the cooperative spirit was only superficial. The Oxford Movement had influenced a number of bishops and clergy, with the result that the Canadian church was being torn severely by conflicts between "high" and "low" churchmen. At least one of the disputes was taken to the civil courts, and in Victoria, the evangelical dean of the cathedral broke away to form the independent Episcopal Reformed Church. In Toronto, Trinity College was becoming a centre for high church ideas and therefore a focus for evangelical opposition. The Evangelical Society was formed in 1869, the journal *Evangelical Churchman* was founded in 1876, and an evangelical college (later called Wycliffe) was established the following year. Wycliffe and Trinity glowered at one another across Hoskins Avenue in Toronto.

Mission work was also a source of conflict. The Canadian church looked to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society (formed in 1883) as its official arm, but the evangelical churchmen complained that it did not support mission work with much enthusiasm, and in 1894, organized their own society known as the Canadian Church Missionary Association.[11] There seemed to be some evidence for evangelical complaints. In 1903, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society gave about $1700 to Rupert's Land missions; $8600 was allocated in 1905, after the evangelical society had merged with it to form the new Missionary Society of the Canadian Church.[12]

It seemed to many evangelicals that, in spite of their valiant battles, the "Romanists" and "ritualists" were winning the war, for in 1879, Bishop John Medley of Fredericton was elected metropolitan of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada. He was well known for his defense of church ritual at Lambeth, and was described by one church historian as "that old Tractarian patriarch."[13] Although he was elderly and unwell and therefore unable to provide strong leadership, his election seemed symbolic to many evangelicals of the hopeless direction in which the Canadian church as a whole seemed to be headed.

The Anglican community at Red River initially had little interest in the activities of the Canadian church, but once the HBC had given up its charter rights to the northwest, considerable concern was generated over how the church should work out its new relationship. The work in Rupert's Land had been seen to consist primarily of CMS missions to the Natives, but non-Native settlement was becoming increasingly important. Bishop Machray became convinced that diocesan organization was a necessity, and persuaded the CMS in London to assist and support the creation of the dioceses of Athabasca, Saskatchewan, Rupert's Land and Hudson Bay (later Moosonee). In 1875, he called the first synod for the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, fully convinced that the western church should retain its administrative and theological independence from the eastern church. As an evangelical bishop himself, he hoped to encourage and protect that low church zeal in the west and the north.

The newly consecrated Bishop Bompas viewed these developments with some concern. Although he was anxious to maintain evangelical purity in his diocese, he was reluctant to agree with Machray that the diocesan structure was a proper means to that end, since such organization itself tended toward what Bompas considered Tractarianism. Nevertheless, he appeared to have resolved to cooperate and make use of the new ties with Red River. Bishop Machray had devoted a good deal of energy to the revival of Anglican educational work there, and had worked out an arrangement with the CMS whereby it would support six students at St. John's College for training as teachers and catechists for the mission field.[14] In 1879, Bompas sent two boys from Mackenzie River to participate in the program. Allan Hardisty was the son of Baptiste le Noir and his first wife, a member of the Slavey nation. He and a brother had been left on their own when their father took a second wife, and so the HBC officer at Fort Simpson, W.L. Hardisty, had taken one of the boys and had him baptized as Allan Hardisty.[15] Less is known about the other boy, named William R. Norn, whom Bompas sent to Winnipeg. The two attended St. John's from 1870 to 1873, studying Latin, English grammar, geography, arithmetic and book-keeping (with consistently dismal exam results).[16] They returned to Mackenzie River to work as lay catechists; neither was ever ordained. Soon after their return, a third student was placed on the CMS list at St. John's with the intention of sending him to Mackenzie River upon graduation.

Early in the experiment, Bompas wholeheartedly supported the CMS policy toward education at St. John's College. "The main hope of the country for the future lies in Red River College," he reported.[17] In particular, he thought that the southern parts of his district should be served by local clergy "as the duties are those of a Native Pastorate and not of a Foreign Missionary."[18] Nevertheless, his attitude toward the college soon began to change. He was unhappy with the work of his young Native catechists, and he blamed their failings on a combination of factors. As he wrote to the CMS, "I am doubtful of the expediency at present of seeking Missionary Candidates here on the spot as I think the want of intelligence and civilization is such that the improvement must come from without."[19] St. John's College could not make up for such shortcomings. "The worst of it is," claimed Bompas, "that we have no guarantee that the students at St. John's College have either Christian disposition or taste or fitness for Missionary work and even the morals of a young man from Manitoba are not to be trusted in the woods with the Indians."[20] His fears regarding the unsuitability of St. John's students seemed confirmed when the third young man who had been studying there for northern mission work committed suicide just before the date of his departure from Winnipeg.[21]

The final blow for Bompas came a few years later when David North Kirkby volunteered for mission service in the north. Kirkby was the son of pioneer CMS missionary William West Kirkby. He had been born at Fort Simpson while his father was serving there, and was sent to England to attend school at the CMS Children's Home in London. He returned to Manitoba and enrolled at St. John's College, initially as a student in the newly organized Faculty of Arts, and then in the Faculty of Theology. He earned a BA in philosophy and upon graduation in 1884, joined the CMS mission. In spite of the fact that his academic career was undistinguished,[22] he seemed an ideal mission candidate in other respects. He spoke one of the Native languages, he had friends and influence in the north, he was accustomed to the physical hardships of mission life, and he revealed through his journals that he was a sensitive man, very much aware of the concerns and beliefs of the Dene. But from the date of his arrival at Fort Simpson, Bompas had doubts about the young man's qualifications. "Mr

Kirkby seems to have imbibed a taste for vestures and symbols and church services," he noted with concern.[23] The bishop decided to examine Kirkby on what he considered the vital points of evangelical doctrine; Kirkby's answers were not entirely to the bishop's satisfaction and Bompas contemplated moving him to another diocese.[24] A shortage of manpower prompted Bompas finally to ordain Kirkby first as deacon and then priest, but Kirkby did not remain in the diocese for long before deciding to serve with the American Episcopal Church. Bompas put the entire blame on the training Kirkby had received at St. John's. "To what extent there is now distinctive Evangelical teaching at St. John's College Manitoba I am not aware," he wrote bluntly to C.C. Fenn, "and I do not wish to have any more Students trained there for this Diocese."[25]

Meanwhile, Bompas was turning his attention towards Canada as an alternate source for men and money. "Strict enquiry" would be necessary to ensure candidates were men of CMS beliefs, but in 1881, he felt that "Canada would be a likely place from which we might obtain hardy and active Missionaries."[26] Bompas sent the Reverend A.C. Garrioch, originally of Red River, to Canada on a speaking tour. After four months, Garrioch lamented that he had raised just $600 and one recruit; another had turned him down because the salary was too low. The "missionary cow," he mused, "refused to let down, squeezed I never so hard."[27] Bishop Machray was not having much success in Canada either. Various deputations were sent from Rupert's Land to publicize the needs of the mission work as well as those of the expanding agricultural settlements on the prairies, but Canadian Anglicans were not interested in supporting the work. Machray was mystified. "There seems an especial obligation lying on the Church of Canada to help us in our missionary efforts in the fact that the scattered settlers whom we are expected to supply with the means of grace come mainly from its own parishes," he observed to his clergy.[28] Various theories were proposed to explain the problem. Canada was experiencing a financial depression, there was little wealth in the "new" community, and the church there preferred to use its limited funds for its "own" missionary diocese of Algoma. Bompas advanced some other theories of his own. "Canadians have an invincible repugnance to the half breeds who form the bulk of our white people," he noted at one point, and so they were allegedly unwilling to come to work amongst such people.[29]

Machray himself travelled to Montréal in 1881 to meet the Provincial Synod of Canada and to encourage interest in the northwest missions. Once again, he failed. Although he had long been opposed to a union of the two church provinces, he began to reconsider the proposal as the only possible means to convince the eastern church that it had a responsibility for work in the west.[30] An organization called Canadian Church Union was formed in 1887 as an outcome of work in the "evangelical" Diocese of Huron, and the provincial synod of Rupert's Land agreed that year to discuss the idea of amalgamating the two provinces.

Bompas was taken aback by the developments. He disagreed profoundly with Machray about church union because he feared that Rupert's Land would lose its evangelical orientation if pressed into a marriage with the "Romanists" who were leading the eastern church. He wrote firmly to the CMS, "I am thankful for the privilege of being a Minister or Bishop of the Colonial Church of England and have no intention of severing such communion to join a Church of Canada. . ."[31] When the bishops of Rupert's Land met in 1890 to discuss consolidation, Bompas refused to attend, and when the general synod was formally constituted in 1893, Bompas refused to send delegates from his diocese. "I think it more likely to drop through if those who disapprove are careless of sending Representatives," he explained to Machray.[32] Bompas was not willing to compromise his evangelical principles for the sake of mission finances or staffing. He had now cut himself off from both Red River and eastern Canada as a result.

The only other nearby source for mission workers was amongst the residents of the northern dioceses, and of course, the CMS had consistently urged the necessity of such a plan as part of its Native church policy. Bompas had two major problems with the policy. In his early years, he seemed to misunderstand the CMS's definition of "Native," and took it to mean men born at Red River, but not aboriginal people. As far as Native missionaries were concerned, Bompas concluded after a few years of experience in the north that Indian agents were not likely to be successful for a number of reasons. The first was his observation that the Dene did not seem to want Native catechists:

> This is the view of the Indians themselves who do not much value one of their own countrymen as teacher for they have not sufficient trust in their attainments and they seem to view Christianity as a message from the White man's God.[33]

The second reason was that, unlike the CMS secretaries yet like so many other people of his time, Bompas had little respect for Native culture. Although he found the Dene generally "inoffensive and submissive,"[34] they were in a sad state of "decay and degeneration."[35] After several years in the field, he came to the conclusion that preaching the gospel was insufficient to save their souls. European missionaries were preferable, he argued, because they "can hope to raise the Natives to a higher grade of intelligence and civilization which they cannot do for each other. . ."[36] Furthermore, he believed that, "Our stations are so isolated that Native Agents are apt to fall back in Christian habits practice [*sic*] being without constant oversight or help."[37]

There was, in fact, an example in Bompas's own diocese of a system more nearly in keeping with CMS policy. The Reverend Robert McDonald, working among the Loucheux (Kutchin) in what is now the northern Yukon, established a system of what he called "Christian leaders." These unpaid volunteers were given brief instruction in Christian beliefs, prayers and hymns, and then led their communities in observing Christian practices. The CMS was delighted, and constantly brought McDonald's work to

Bompas's attention. But Bompas and McDonald had many disagreements. Bompas would never acknowledge the success of McDonald's arrangements and refused outright to ordain any of the leaders, in spite of CMS pressure to do so.[38] Late in life, he made one of his most pointed and clear statements against one particular aspect of the Native church policy, in which he revealed his general misgivings:

> Regarding North West America. . . a Native Episcopate is in my view quite uncalled for and undesirable. . . the Natives having previously been quite rude and uninstructed, [they] have naturally learned to regard White men as their Instructors and superior in Intellect and Information and especially in moral stedfastness [sic] and reliability.

Clearly, the Native church policy had been lost in Bompas's translation. But besides his fundamental prejudice about Native capabilities, a deeper fear underlay his conclusions. As he summarized in the letter quoted above,

> I am not in favor of Independent Native Churches anywhere. . . I fear that Independent Native Churches would soon sink to a level with other sects and denominations of Christians, or even become heterodox.[39]

He was afraid that a "Native" church, whether it was led by Canadians or northerners, would degenerate quickly into non-evangelical Anglicanism. Evangelical principles were still uppermost in his mind.

Because of his determined evangelicalism, Bompas rejected diocesan links with Red River and the Provincial Synod of Canada, and refused to implement the CMS Native church policy in the northern mission. What impact did these choices have on the direction of his work? The most obvious problem was that of securing mission personnel. Bompas was unable to accept the suitability of local Native men without benefit of considerable "education" in the ways of European behavioural standards and evangelical doctrine, and he did not accept the Red River schools as suitable training places. Native catechists were therefore rejected by Bompas after initial experiment. Bompas's strict adherence to evangelical principles led him to reject non-Native students educated at Red River as well. The only clergyman recruited at Red River to remain in the diocese for any length of time was the Reverend A.C. Garrioch, who came north during the early years of Bompas's ministry. Few Canadians seemed willing to join the mission and the bishop made few attempts to recruit them. During Bompas's term as bishop of Athabasca only two Canadians volunteered — Mr. and Mrs. E.J. Lawrence, who came in 1879 to work as school teachers and farmers in the southern part of the diocese. Bompas seemed happy only with the men and women sent out by the CMS, yet it was reluctant to send many missionaries to what it considered a relatively unimportant mission field. As a result, the Anglican mission was severely understaffed. Bompas and his assistants constantly underlined that observation when they compared their efforts to those of the Oblates, whose mission not only had more priests, but also enjoyed the support of the Grey Nuns of Montréal and the Oblate Brothers. Those numbers permitted the Roman Catholics to maintain more permanent mission stations and also permitted the missionaries more time to travel with the Natives, more time to learn their languages, and more freedom to offer services like hospitals and orphanages. Furthermore, heavy reliance on CMS recruits meant that the Anglican mission was left adrift when the CMS began to withdraw its support after 1902.

Related to the personnel problem was the financial problem. Bompas's haphazard attempts to raise support in Canada contributed almost nothing to the work over the years and it was not until the Canadian Church Missionary Association was established in 1894 and W.D. Reeve opened a line of communication with sympathetic Canadians that any real support was offered. Bompas tended to blame the Canadians for their lack of commitment to mission work, but in fact, the fault lay with all sides. Bompas was not organized, realistic, consistent or persistent when it came to fund raising. The CMS refused to establish an endowment fund for the diocese or the bishopric because in the early years, the CMS wanted to maintain control of the appointment of the bishop,[40] and in later years, it argued that an ongoing availability of money would make future generations of Christians in the diocese too complacent; the need for effort in raising money had a "quickening effect" on missionary and congregation alike, and kept true Christian zeal alive.[41] The church at Red River could not contribute since its meagre resources were already stretched to support churches amongst non-Native settlers; furthermore, ideas like weekly offertories were not popular with western congregations. An interesting anecdote illustrates this attitude. The editor of the *St. John's College Magazine* wrote:

> In a leading article on the Pew System in the *Toronto Mail*, we recently noted the following passage: "A clergyman in Manitoba is credited with saying that whenever a one-cent piece is found on a Winnipeg collection plate it is known that an Ontario visitor has been to the church." The *Mail* goes on to remark: "This is, of course, but a witty way of declaring that the voluntary contribution method is not always very successful in this latitude."[42]

Finally, Bompas was partially correct in his observations that Canadians simply were not interested in supporting mission work in the far north. Once CMS financial support was withdrawn, the Canadian church was often unable to fund the work, and most of the northern churches remained vacant for long periods at a time.

Because of the shortage of funds and personnel, and because of Bompas's refusal to encourage the CMS Native church program, no self-supporting indigenous Anglican church was ever established in his three dioceses. With the exception of the northern Yukon (where Robert McDonald had worked) very few northern Natives identify themselves today as Anglican. The first Native clergyman in the Diocese of Mackenzie River was not ordained until Bompas had moved on to the Diocese of Selkirk, and no other ordinations took place until after World War I. By then, the Anglican mission did not enjoy much credibility amongst the Dene. Failure to understand Dene culture, failure to recognize people's needs and expectations, and a refusal to compromise and accommodate meant that the Dene had little reason to show an interest in the CMS missions. Of course, there were many other factors involved in the variety of Dene responses to the missionaries, including the persistence of traditional world views even in the face of economic change and social pressure, and so it would be wrong to conclude that the implementation of the Native church policy alone might have changed the outcome of the mission-Native encounter in any significant way. But the fact remains that Bompas had no clear alternative to the Native church policy, and so his work lacked cohesion and any clear sense of purpose. And so, without the support of the local people or of the Canadian church, the northern mission floundered.

In socioeconomic terms, the Dene faced a crucial transition in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth. The Canadian government awakened at last to the resource potential of the north, and decided to claim the lands through treaty. Non-Native trappers and prospectors introduced a new element of competition for resources as well as a new element of social tension. Government Indian agents and government-supported schools provided a new constituency in the delicate balance of fur trade relationships. During these crucial years, the Roman Catholic missionaries played important roles as intermediaries. They attempted to protect what they believed were Dene interests as well as to interpret each side to the other, serving on treaty parties, lobbying for social welfare assistance, and demanding police protection against alcohol and brutalization of women. The Anglican missionaries were too few in number and enjoyed too little credibility with the Dene to play much of a role in such activities. Unfortunately for the Dene, Roman Catholic missionaries were not necessarily the best of champions. Deep-seated prejudice and suspicion amongst Ottawa civil servants toward French-speaking Roman Catholics sometimes prevented serious response to genuine grievances. Such attitudes are reflected in the comments of William Ogilvie of the Dominion Land Survey, who wrote to John Christian Schultz, "One fact may be mentioned in this connection that should not be encouraged is the *Frenchifying* of the natives by the Roman Catholic Missionaries, all of whom are French."[44] And although some Ottawa bureaucrats may have been uneasy with the prominence of the Roman Catholics in the north, they had few opportunities to hear from the Anglicans. Bompas corresponded with various lieutenant governors of the North-West Territories and with John Christian Schultz, but there was little government reaction. In 1910, when Ottawa formed an advisory board composed of mission representatives from the northwest to deal with questions of educational policy, there was no Anglican representative from the Mackenzie District.[45] Of course, the implications of this situation cannot be determined with certainty. It is possible that Protestant missionaries might have enjoyed a greater success in their lobby efforts with Ottawa, and the Canadian government might have taken the social and economic problems of the north more seriously, or at least the Dene voices might have been heard more strongly at an earlier date. We can never know.

Finally, one of the most important implications of the tensions between Bompas and the Canadian church as a whole is the fact that a vital channel of communication was lost. The lack of Canadian involvement in the far northwest through the Protestant church may seem unimportant at first glance, but in fact, the implications are wider than one might suspect. English-speaking Canadians were well aware of the Native peoples in the prairie west, and much of that knowledge came through the Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries who were recruited in Canada and maintained their ties with family and congregation at home. Their observations and activities were reported widely in such periodicals as *The Week*, *The Dominion Monthly*, and *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, as well as church publications like *The Westminster* (Methodist). The public was interested and responsive to a surprising degree. When *The New Dominion Monthly* sponsored a poetry contest in 1878, the majority of the 291 entries featured Natives in some way, and five of the six winners involved Native stories.[46] As a result of public interest in "the Native question," Ottawa was under some pressure to deal with the problems of the Plains Natives. Whether or not they were successful is, of course, entirely another matter. The fact remains that attempts were made to devise policies for plains people, frequently with the input of mission workers, and always with the input of public opinion.

There was no similar channel for communications with the north. Most of the Anglican missionaries came directly from England and had few personal contacts in Canada. Material about the Dene seldom found its way into English Canadian publications. Until the explosion of the Klondike gold discoveries, only Senator J.C. Schultz had demonstrated much interest in "the Great Mackenzie Basin," but even the report of his Senate Committee apparently did not generate much response in Canada. Books by or about Anglican missionaries in the north, like Bompas's *Diocese of Mackenzie River* or Hiram Cody's romanticized biography of Bompas, *An Apostle of the North*, were published in England and apparently given their widest distribution there, rather than in Canada. In twenty-two popular Canadian periodicals dating between 1860 and 1900, only two of fifty-seven descriptions of specific groups of Native people were descriptions of northern Natives. Canadians were largely unaware of the northern Native population. The two largest Protestant denominations did not attempt to develop missions in what are now the Northwest Territories, in spite of their very active work on the prairies. The Canadian government attempted to ignore the people of the north as long as possible; they succeeded in part because of a lack of public scrutiny or interest.[47]

The Protestant mission work in the north was not founded by Bompas, but as the first bishop of the original Diocese of Athabasca, his decisions played a crucial role in the direction of the work. His firmly evangelical outlook persuaded him that in order to preserve the purity of the mission, contacts with the church at Red River and the church in eastern Canada had to be approached with extreme caution and perhaps even avoided. St. John's College was not a suitable training ground for missionaries because its curriculum and practices were too "Romanist" for Bompas; the Canadian church was run by Tractarians who thwarted the spread of evangelical ideals. As a result, Bompas did not want to see his diocese drawn into an association with the Canadian synod, and never sent delegates in the hope that non-participation would contribute to the eventual downfall of the misguided experiment. Furthermore, his attitudes toward Native people prevented him from attempting to prepare them for ordination in the mission service. As a result, the Native church policy of the CMS was never properly attempted in his dioceses, and Canadians as a whole had little sense of "connectedness" with the people of the north.

NOTES

1. "Thoughts on Early Canadian Contact," in Calvin Martin, ed., *The American Indian and the Problem of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 56.
2. Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, 4 vols. (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), vol. 1, 64.
3. Ibid., vol. 2, 418.
4. For more detailed examination of the Native church policy, see Jean Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines: The Social Theory of the Church Missionary Society," *Social History/Histoire sociale* 7 (April 1971): 28-52.
5. National Archives of Canada (NAC), Church Missionary Society Archives (CMSA), A113, Bompas to C.C. Fenn, "Questions of Evangelical Doctrine," 3 August 1885.
6. Ibid., A120, Bompas to CMS, Buxton Mission (Yukon), 14 April 1897.
7. Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land (ARL), box P339, file 2051, Bompas to Machray, Ft. Liard, 18 May 1885.
8. See, for example, "Journals and Letters of Mrs. Bompas, Forty Mile Creek, 1896," in S.A. Archer, comp., *A Heroine of the North* (London: SPCK, 1929), 133.
9. Archives Deschâtelets (Ottawa), HPF4191, C75R, no. 127, Grouard to Sister Marie-Colombe, Providence, 4 December 1868 (author's translation).
10. After Bompas's death, she moved back to Montréal where she lived until her death in 1917. She continued to work for the northern missions through her W.A. contacts.
11. Anglican Church General Synod Archives (ACGSA), Proceedings of the CMS, 1892-93, pamphlet entitled "The CCMA in Connection with the Church Missionary Society of England."
12. T.C.B. Boon, *The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies: A History of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land and Its Dioceses From 1820 to 1950* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), 264.
13. Philip Carrington, *The Anglican Church in Canada* (Toronto: Collins, 1963), 163.
14. PAM, ARL, box P339, Papers of the Diocese of Rupert's Land - 1869, Extracts from Bishop Machray's Address, p. 23.
15. "Journal of Mrs. Bompas, Ft. Norman, June 1881," in Archer, *A Heroine of the North*, 86-87.
16. St. John's College Archives, St. John's College Minute Books (1867-1881).
17. NAC, CMSA, A99, Bompas to CMS, Peel River, 20 January 1870.

18. Ibid., Bompas to CMS, Ft. Chipewyan, 6 July 1871.
19. Ibid., A102, Fort Simpson, May 1896.
20. Ibid., A103, Bompas to Wright, Ft. Vermilion, 5 February 1879.
21. Ibid., A104, Bompas to CMS, Ft. Simpson, 27 November 1879.
22. St. John's College Archives, St. John's College Minute Books (1881-1906).
23. NAC, CMSA, A113, Bompas to C.C. Fenn, Mackenzie River, 3 August 1885.
24. Ibid., Bompas to Fenn, Ft. Resolution, 12 September 1885.
25. Ibid., Bompas to Fenn, Mackenzie River, 3 August 1885.
26. Ibid., A110, Bompas to CMS, Mackenzie River, 4 August 1881.
27. A.C. Garrioch, *A Hatchet Mark in Duplicate* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1929), 58-59.
28. PAM, ARL, box P339, file 4200, Address to Synod, 23 May 1877. Published in *Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land* (Winnipeg: n.p., 1877).
29. Provincial Archives of Alberta(PAA), A281/21-27, box A29, Papers of the Diocese of Athabasca, Bompas to Bishop Young, St. Paul's Athabasca, 12 August 1890.
30. H.H. Walsh, *The Christian Church in Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956), 271.
31. NAC, CMSA, A114, Fort Smith, 14 July 1887.
32. PAM, ARL, box P339, file 2051, St. Michael's, Alaska, 21 June 1893.
33. NAC, CMSA, A111, Bompas to Fenn, Peace River, 13 November 1882. This interesting comment also provides a clue about the Dene response to the missionaries. See chapter 6 in K. Abel, "The Drum and the Cross: An Ethnohistorical Study of Mission Work among the Dene, 1858-1902" (Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1984).
34. William C. Bompas, *Diocese of Mackenzie River* (London: SPCK, 1888), 40.
35. Hiram A. Cody, *An Apostle of the North* (London: Sealey and Company, 1908), 366.
36. NAC, CMSA, A113, Bompas to Fenn, Ft. Resolution, 3 October 1885.
37. Ibid., A104, Bompas, Annual Letter, Ft. Chipewyan, 20 July 1880.
38. PAA, A281/21-27, Papers of the Diocese of Athabasca, Bompas to Bishop Young, Ft. Simpson, 29 March 1888.
39. NAC, CMSA, A120, Bompas to CMS, Moosehide (Dawson), 20 February 1900.
40. Ibid., A77, Frederick Wigram to Bompas, 9 May 1881.
41. Ibid., A75, C.C. Fenn to Bompas, 18 September 1885.
42. *St. John's College Magazine* 4, no. 15 (November 1888): 248-49.
43. J.W. Grant has commented on the lack of Canadian support for missions in western Canada, and offered the explanation that "Lack of enthusiasm was partly due to scepticism about the future of an area that never quite seemed to fulfil its promise." The bursting of investment bubbles and problems with drought and grasshoppers helped to tarnish the image of the west. See J.W. Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (1972; Burlington, Ont.: Welch Publishing, 1988), 47-48. Did a similarly grim view of the north affect Canadian interest? I suspect that the reasons are more complex and ought to be explored.
44. PAM, MG12/E1, Schultz Collection, dated Muskey Lake, 15 October 1892, pp. 6051-62.
45. NAC, RG10, vol. 6039, file 1-1-1, part 1, copy of contract as devised at meeting between Frank Oliver and Advisory Board, 10 November 1910.
46. *New Dominion Monthly* (July 1878): 1-15.
47. See K. Abel, " 'Matters are Growing Worse': Government and the Mackenzie Missions, 1870-1921," in K. Coates and W.R. Morrison, eds., *For Purposes of Dominion* (Toronto: Captus Press, 1989), 73-86.

13

Asking for All Sorts of Favours: The Anglican Church, the Federal Government and the Natives of the Yukon Territory, 1891-1909

Ken Coates

The participation of the Anglican church in interchurch coalitions such as Project North and clerical and lay participation in Native advocacy and land claims processes provides striking evidence of the church's continuing dedication to Native affairs. The contemporary activism, in which the Anglican church seeks to work with, rather than for, the Native people of Canada represents a significant departure from the paternalism and intervention of an earlier age.[1] Activism on behalf of the Native people of Canada — separate from church efforts to restructure Native society from within — is not, however, a new phenomenon. For many decades, missionaries of the Christian church have supported Native claims for justice and fair treatment. These representations, although coloured by missionary self-interest, were often the only non-Native voices speaking out against the physical destruction and social dislocation attending the advance of Euro-Canadian society.[2]

From 1861, when W.W. Kirkby first visited Fort Youcon, the Anglican church dominated the Yukon mission field. Aided by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and sustained by the vigorous itinerating efforts of the early clergy, particularly Robert McDonald, William Carpenter Bompas and T.H. Canham, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) clergy kept the Roman Catholic orders at bay, and gained a foothold among the Native population. The Yukon district was constituted as a separate diocese in 1891, when W.C. Bompas was named bishop of Selkirk. Under Bompas and, after 1905, his successor Isaac O. Stringer, a substantial mission field developed. Perennially short of money, particularly after the withdrawal of the CMS in 1902 and the transfer of responsibility to the reluctant Missionary Society of the Christian Church in Canada (MSCC), the Yukon diocese nonetheless maintained its presence throughout the territory. A small number of ordained clergy, headed by the bishop, several lay readers, summer theology students and Native catechists ensured that the gospel was kept in front of the Native population, although contact was often episodic.

The missionaries faced numerous difficulties in their dealings with the Natives. The withdrawal of the HBC after 1893, the gradual advance of the gold mining frontier capped by the Klondike Gold Rush of 1897-99, disrupted the Natives' position, increased contact between Native and non-Native peoples, and threatened the missionaries' hold over their Native communicants. The Anglican clergy struggled to find more money, suitable missionaries, acceptable Native catechists, and to generate interest within the church for their northern work.[3]

In their attempt to protect and improve the condition of the Yukon Natives, the missionaries looked about desperately for allies. There were few obvious supporters in this far-flung corner of the Canadian empire. After 1869, and the expulsion of the HBC from Fort Youcon, the population was largely American and increasingly uninterested in Native matters. The expansion of mining activities, and the continued devaluation of Native skills, made it clear to the missionaries that local non-Natives would offer little sympathy or support.[4] Distressed by the perceived deterioration of his Native congregations, and angry over the growing American presence in the region, Bishop Bompas approached the federal government, hoping to spark their interest in the ignored region and to secure financial and moral support for the missionary enterprise. Bompas's appeals marked the commencement of missionary intervention on behalf of the Yukon Natives, a process that would soon lead to entanglements between missionary and governmental agendas, and conflict over the country's obligations to its northern Natives.

Bompas's concern rested primarily with the introduction of liquor.[5] As he wrote in 1894, "My own interest lies principally in the preservation of the Indians who I fear will be finished in a few years unless Government protection is afforded them. Some of them manufacture liquor and it is supplied to them by the Whites, and especially to the Indian women for purposes of debauchery."[6] Numerous requests for federal intervention followed. He was unrepentant in his demand for action, commenting at one point that "where the life of the Indian is concerned there appears less occasion to stand upon ceremony."[7]

Bompas also offered a solution. The situation in British Columbia, he wrote, provided evidence of the positive benefits of the introduction of law and order on the Canadian frontier. A detachment of the North West Mounted Police (NWMP) would, he claimed, halt the liquor trade, ease tensions between non-Natives and Natives, and otherwise control the frontier population. Several efforts, all unsuccessful, had been made at the community level to control the use of alcohol, but "the conclusion reached by others besides myself is that only the interference of the law can check the evil."[8]

Although the control of alcohol dominated Bompas's representations to the federal government, he also asked the Department of Indian Affairs to provide assistance for Native schools.[9] The funding of schools had, across the country, proved to be an important adjunct of the missionary enterprise. The government provided the money, and in return received relatively inexpensive schooling for the Natives; the missionary organizations, for their part, received the financial backing necessary to sustain their Christian work and gained another forum in which they could spread the gospel. Such support did not come automatically, for the government tried to avoid new expenditures and, in addition, wondered if episodic day schools were of much value among the nomadic bands of the north.[10]

The government was not, in fact, much impressed with any appeals from northern missionaries or Natives for federal assistance. As early as the 1870s, the Department of Indian Affairs had decided that they would not approach northern Natives as they had their southern counterparts. The general thrust was to leave the Natives as harvesters, a plan that fit Native aspirations and the government's fiscal conservatism and parsimony.[11] Increased activity in the Yukon, however, forced the government to act, particularly when Bishop Bompas began soliciting support from church and prohibitionist groups in southern Canada and Britain.[12]

Bompas's repeated requests, combined with similar representations by local businessmen, finally convinced the government to act. With a view toward "the better preservation of the peace, the regulating and controlling of the manufacture of liquor, the making and enforcement of mining regulations, and the enforcement of the Canadian law of Canada and generally the maintenance of Canadian institutions," Charles Constantine of the NWMP was sent in 1894 to survey conditions in the Yukon. The government took care to ensure that Constantine's visit did not signal major new commitments in the area of Native affairs. Although he carried a commission from the Department of Indian Affairs, he had been specifically instructed "not to give encouragement to the idea that they [the Yukon Indians] will be received into treaty and taken under the care of government."[13] The government anticipated demands from the Natives — Constantine was given a copy of Alexander Morris's *Treaties with the Indian People of Canada* to inform him of the nature of Native requests — but they had no intention of negotiating a treaty.

The government need not have worried, for Constantine's sympathies did not rest with the Natives. He initially agreed that the region appeared to be in the grip of a "whiskey ring," but rejected Bompas's argument that the Natives faced decimation and demoralization. The Natives, Constantine wrote, "were of a very low order of intelligence," and constantly asked for whiskey. Bishop Bompas arranged for Chief "Charlie" to speak to Constantine, but he might have spared the effort. To the Natives' complaints that their people were having their property stolen and were being enticed by liquor, Constantine answered that the fault lay with themselves, and that they should tie up their dogs and avoid alcohol.[14]

The government's subsequent decision to send a detachment of the NWMP to the gold fields in 1895 answered part of Bompas's request, and promised greater control over the miners. It also provided the bishop and other missionaries with an opportunity to lay their demands on behalf of the Yukon Natives before the government on a more regular basis. The missionaries' appeals — the police called them complaints — created considerable tension, particularly on occasions involving the abrasive

Bishop Bompas and the equally opinionated Charles Constantine. Constantine all but dismissed Bompas's numerous interventions:

> Bishop Bompas is a disturbing element. He has no use for any person unless he is an Indian. Has the utmost contempt for the whites generally and myself in particular because I would not give an order to the Dr. to attend Indians, in fact to go over a couple of times in the week to see if they were all right.[15]

The police arrived at a most auspicious time, for the next year gold was discovered in the Klondike River basin, and the famous Klondike Gold Rush was underway. The concentration of population in the Dawson region, and the influx of thousands of "cheechakos" over the next few years heightened the competition between Natives and non-Natives for land and resources, and sharpened the determination of the Anglican missionaries to fight for the rights of the Yukon Natives.

Bishop Bompas was convinced that the Natives deserved suitable repayment for the despoilation of their land. "The Indians," he wrote, "seem to me fairly entitled to some Compensation for this loss, and a Government Grant for Education would appear the best way of compensating the Indians as it would introduce them to the benefits of civilization."[16] In this instance, written just before the discovery of gold, and in many subsequent appeals, Bompas without hesitation combined Native territorial rights with the Christian mission. Bompas, like all missionaries, believed that their mission represented the Natives' best chance for a viable spiritual and economic future. Only if the Natives were given the skills and opportunities possible through education and Christianity could they hope to participate in the rapidly changing society of the Canadian north. For Bompas, therefore, there was no contradiction in demanding attention to Native rights and suggesting that compensation come by way of support for the Anglican missions. The government saw it differently. Such interventions, cloaked with the transparent self-interest of the missionaries, were routinely ignored.

Following the discovery of gold, Bompas cautioned the government that a treaty was essential:

> Moreover if considerable tracts of country are allowed to White men as timber grants or for agricultural purposes, I think the Indian title to those lands might fairly be extinguished by a present made to them. With regards to the tracts where gold is discovered, it may be a question whether it would not be best for the government to purchase these lands from the Indians to avoid all future questions of title to the freehold.[17]

He pursued the matter further in 1903: "I think our Indians are entitled to claim from the Government Treaty rights and privileges and some compensation for the injury done them for their lands with the minerals being possessed by the whites, and the wild animals being greatly thinned by the white hunters till the Indians are reduced to having to make a living whether by hunting or trapping and they are likely before long to become wholely destitute."[18] The government had no intention of responding to Bompas's request, or to a similar demand for treaty negotiations submitted in 1902 by Jim Boss, a Native leader from the southern Yukon.

Elsewhere in the country, the government negotiated treaties when the development frontier advanced. In the Yukon, the suddenness and magnitude of the Klondike strike combined with the prospect that another "Eldorado" might be found in the district ensured that the government would not willingly alienate potentially valuable land for exclusive Native use.[19] Small plots of land — residential reserves — were set aside for the Natives, and food relief and medical assistance were provided. There would not, however, be a territory-wide treaty.[20]

While the government rebuffed Bompas's request for a broad treaty, they could not so readily dismiss repeated interventions on more minor issues. In the wake of the gold rush, there were numerous requests for medical assistance, generally provided by NWMP surgeons, and short-term food relief. The police generally, if grudgingly, provided the required support.

The increased activism of the Anglican missionaries and the growing demands on government offices continued to cause conflict. To the police, recipients of most of the missionaries' requests, the clergy had become an annoyance. In 1896, for example, Bompas and Constantine engaged in a heated and prolonged debate over the question of Native land rights in the Dawson City area. Bompas wanted the Natives' land rights guaranteed, and sought compensation for Native cabins purchased in the first weeks of the rush. Constantine would have nothing of it, and claimed that the Natives had been fairly treated, and were not in need of further government support. Furthermore, he wrote, "I don't propose to be bluffed by an arrogant Bishop who thinks the only people worth considering are a few dirty Indians too lazy to work, and who prefer starvation."[21]

The missionaries were more successful on other issues and with other government officials. Bompas's report that non-Natives were competing with the Natives for the river fishery, for example, received a favourable response from Hayter Reed, deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs, despite an unsympathetic report from Inspector Constantine.[22] Although Reed reiterated the long-standing position that "the Department has no jurisdiction over Indians in unsurrendered territory; nor does it appear how — without having entered into any Treaty — the Indians can be otherwise dealt with than white settlers," he agreed to address the fishery issue with the appropriate authorities.[23]

This reticence was nothing new, for federal officials had been disclaiming their responsibility for northern Natives since the 1870s, targeting the Indian Affairs' meagre budget to the treaty Indians in southern districts.[24] What did set the Yukon apart, however, was that this reluctance to provide either a treaty or the full range of government assistance continued during and after the gold rush, when development pressures placed unusual demands on the land and resources of the Yukon. In this case, the odd combination of future resource discoveries and the government's belief, ably reflected by Clifford Sifton, minister of the Interior, that the Yukon was doomed to a very short life, mitigated against expensive commitments to the northern Natives.[25]

There was some help for missionary-run Native schools. The small annual grant never covered the costs for established schools, and certainly did not permit the church to expand its operation.[26] For many years Bompas had been running a small boarding school in conjunction with his Buxton Mission; in 1903 he requested funds for a proper facility.[27] The government dismissed the request, as it had so many of Bompas's appeals, but the missionary would not soon give up on the desire for a residential school.[28] The missionaries had few allies in their campaign for greater assistance. Territorial officials, including F.T. Congdon, commissioner of the Yukon, wrote disparagingly about the accomplishments and prospects for Native day school education, which undoubtedly detracted from the missionaries' appeal for aid.[29]

The activism on the Natives' behalf earned the missionaries the enmity of many government officials. Other Anglican clergy, although most were less confrontational than Bompas, were similarly active and repeatedly approached government agents on behalf of their Native charges. The attitude of Congdon is perhaps indicative of the official view of the missionaries:

> My complaint with regard to the missionaries is that instead of teaching the Indians self reliance and independence they aid most strongly in making the mendicants. I am daily in receipt of letters from Indians, written by a missionary, asking for all sorts of favours, from the examination of an aching tooth to the providing fares for Indians to enable them to pay their debts.[30]

Bompas and the others made no apologies for their activism. Changes in Yukon society and economy had created much hardship for the Yukon Natives; the great wealth extracted from the Klondike gold fields had brought few benefits for the local Natives. Before the gold rush, Bompas wrote, "the Indians were alone in this country (previous to the last eight years). They were able to make a good living by hunting and trapping without much difficulty." That was no longer possible. Competition for land and resources had drained much of the vitality from the Native lifestyle and had taken them to the verge of disaster. Equally important to Bompas, the lack of government assistance, particularly in the area of education, had prevented the church from moderating the effects of the "invasion."[31] The bishop had been a thorn in the government's side for more than a decade, and there must have been some relief when he resigned as bishop of Selkirk effective 31 October 1905. As Bompas left his post, he did so convinced that the church had to continue its petitions on behalf of the Yukon Natives, pressuring the federal government to accept its legal and moral responsibilities for the long-ignored Natives.

For all of his efforts, Bompas could claim little success. There was a modest grant available for day schools, but the Natives remained without a treaty, had only vague assurances that their hunting and fishing rights would be protected, and received such medical care and relief as the police granted. Requests for a boarding school had been rebuffed, as had suggestions that the federal government accept its full responsibilities for the care and protection of the Natives.

The lack of attention, indicative of federal attitudes toward the northern Natives generally, was also due in some part to Bishop Bompas. This unique northern missionary, a man of unquestionable commitment and zeal, lacked the political and public relations skills necessary to push his plan for the Yukon Natives.[32] His refusal to travel "outside," to visit government officials and cultivate support among Anglican congregations in southern Canada or Britain, weakened Bompas's Yukon initiatives. Without a national or international campaign on these issues, the government found it comparatively easy to disregard the missionary's requests, particularly when they contrasted so strongly with the advice tendered by the government's own officials. Bompas's requests for increased federal involvement, particularly the appeal for a residential school, also ran counter to much opinion within the Christian community. In an era which John Webster Grant has characterized as "the onset of doubt,"[33] the churches questioned the validity of their plan for the Natives of Canada. The confident assertions coming from the north ran counter to the self-doubt then characteristic of the national missionary effort. Bompas paid little attention to such niceties, and publicly chided both the government and the national Anglican church for its lack of attention to northern issues. This reflected his unbroken commitment to the needs of the Yukon Natives, but also worked against the very goals he held so dearly.

That Bompas would pursue government support so unrelentingly also spoke volumes about the limited support offered his mission by the Anglican church. The CMS, which supported work among aboriginal peoples in many countries, lost interest in the north (and Canada) at the end of the nineteenth century. The Canadian church was reluctant to pick up the sizeable financial obligations of continuing the northern missions, preferring instead to back Christian missions to more exotic locales — China and India. The rather bald self-interest in Bompas' approach to the federal government was, therefore, in part a desperate attempt to keep the Yukon missions alive.

When William Carpenter Bompas retired on 31 October 1905, he was succeeded by Isaac O. Stringer, a man of considerable northern experience and with a very different approach to the missionary enterprise. Where Bompas was controversial, and did not shy away from confrontation, Stringer was an accommodating, flexible man, who preferred quiet negotiation to public debate. In his summary of Stringer's career as bishop, Frank Peake wrote,

> As an ambassador, Bishop Stringer was appealing and convincing because of his obvious involvement in his work. As an administrator he

> was simple, straightforward and practical. In neither capacity could he be described as a visionary.[34]

Stringer was, in many ways, the antithesis of Bompas. His style would be tested in his first years as bishop.

Stringer enjoyed greater success in his negotiations with the federal government than had Bompas. He laid the groundwork for greater public support by travelling throughout Canada and Britain, lobbying missionary societies and the general public for continued aid and promoting the church's work in the far north. His travels resulted in a few more volunteers for northern work and considerable sums of money for the support of the Yukon missions. As a result of this growing interest within the church, Stringer was not as desperate as Bompas had been to gain the government's favour.

Despite this difference, Stringer's demands and requests mirrored those of his predecessor. At the 1907 meeting of the Yukon synod[35] the church reaffirmed its commitment to the need for protection of harvesting rights and Native land rights, plus additional government funding for housing, education and medical care for Natives.[36] Under Stringer's quiet, diplomatic leadership, however, the Anglican church now approached the government in a much different fashion than had Bompas.

A.E. O'Meara, a lawyer and one of the first men ordained by Stringer, proved crucial to the Anglican appeal. O'Meara was initially assigned to Conrad, a new mining camp on the shores of Tagish Lake; he was later given additional duties as financial secretary for the Diocese of Yukon. In this position, he learned of the precarious financial situation in the diocese. Stringer's visitations to the south and Britain helped, but enhanced government support was increasingly essential if the church was to maintain its missionary force in the field.[37] As a preparatory step to approaching the government, Stringer directed O'Meara to compile files on the various Native groups in the territory, paying particular attention to the educational, health and economic conditions of the individual bands.[38] At the same time, Stringer started private consultations with regional politicians like Dr. A. Thompson, Yukon member of Parliament, to sound out likely government reaction to a missionary request for assistance.[39]

The new style was soon evident. Bompas seldom convinced civil servants to support his cause; often, in fact, Yukon-based federal employees openly criticized Anglican missions and schools. Following Stringer's elevation, the relationship changed sharply. Although he agreed that previous educational efforts had not helped, T. Bragg, superintendent of Yukon schools nonetheless supported additional grants to Native education, specifically for the construction of a boarding school, and argued further that any funds allotted should be administered by the bishop of the Yukon.[40] As early as 1906, Stringer received assurances from the Department of Indian Affairs that the Yukon situation would receive specific attention, separate from the debate then ranging over the future of Native education in Canada.[41]

Convincing the government to adopt Anglican policies as its own would not prove easy. Frank Pedley, deputy minister of Indian Affairs, and other government officials were reluctant to support more expensive initiatives, particularly as results could not be guaranteed.[42] Pedley, for example, specifically disagreed with the suggestion that the Anglican clergy be given total control of Native education, as other denominations might later wish to enter the field.

The Anglican clergy were prepared to be patient, continuing their lobbying efforts,[43] meeting with politicians in Ottawa and working closely with departmental employees. In 1908, for example, the federal government decided to conduct a survey of educational needs of the Yukon Natives.[44] Stringer happened to be in Ottawa when the federal government announced the selection of A.W. Vowell, superintendent of schools and reserve commissioner of British Columbia, and A.E. Green, a British Columbia Indian agent, for the task. The bishop met with the minister of the Interior, Frank Oliver, and offered to assist with the survey. He also used the occasion to outline the church's position on Yukon Native matters. While heartened by the minister's position on education, he was disappointed about the government's intransigence on the question of a treaty:

> He thinks it would destroy their independence and perhaps tend to pauperize them if compensation as a regular thing were recognized. He would rather encourage them to make their living by hunting, fishing, etc. I pointed out that the advent of the white man had injured their prospects as hunters etc.[45]

Vowell and Green visited the Yukon as planned in the summer of 1908. Reverend O'Meara and John Hawksley met the investigators at Carcross and offered their assistance. After a side trip to Atlin and Teslin, the government agents returned to Carcross. From there, on the suggestion of the clergy, Green and O'Meara travelled downstream to Dawson City, while Vowell and Hawksley visited Champagne before heading for the territorial capital. Not surprisingly, given the manner in which the review was conducted, Vowell and Green's final report supported the Anglican position on the need for a residential school and expanded day schools.[46] Planning could now proceed for the construction of the Carcross boarding school, although financing would be delayed for several years.[47] There was more to do, however, and Stringer and O'Meara hoped that the relationship established over the school question would provide a foundation for future negotiations.

Much of the task of keeping the pressure on the federal government fell to O'Meara. He visited Ottawa on several occasions on behalf of the church, meeting with church and Department of Indian Affairs and attempting to broaden negotiations on Yukon Native matters. O'Meara and Stringer had to battle more than a cautious government. Samuel Blake, a leading member of the MSCC, argued against the extension of the residential school program. He and many of his supporters favoured a more locally sensitive approach to the development of educational programs. O'Meara was particularly interested in having the government attend to outstanding Native land claims in the Yukon. To Blake's objections that passing additional money to the Natives was a form of "pauperization," O'Meara argued that "on the contrary it would seem to me that we are giving them not charity, but only a partial measure of justice." The Anglican minister specifically requested that the question of Native title in the Yukon, British Columbia and the Mackenzie River valley be referred to the Imperial Privy Council for adjudication.[48]

O'Meara's activity on behalf of the Natives culminated in a February 1909 meeting with minister of the Interior, Frank Oliver, and his deputy, Frank Pedley. In his address to the minister, O'Meara outlined his request for a treaty for the Yukon Natives, the appointment of a full-time Indian agent, greater medical attention and enhanced funding for education, including support for a proper residential school.[49] Having carefully laid the groundwork for this meeting, O'Meara must have been disappointed with Oliver's reaction. The minister started by rejecting the missionary's main request:

> I do not recognize, and the Government does not recognize, the same responsibility towards Yukon Indians which we are obliged to recognize towards others. . . The main difference which I draw between the Yukon Indians and the Indians of other parts of Canada is that no treaty has been made with them. But there are other reasons. The conditions which have not been made to the prejudice of the Indians by the occupation of the whites, but on the contrary afford additional means of livelihood, influence my mind. Moreover, in my opinion the process of fathering and mothering the Indians under treaty has been most harmful to the Indians, by accentuating their original communism, that is to say, the natural dependence of the Indian upon others. I would call the Indian a "communist" or "socialist."

Oliver also dismissed the request for general education and medical care, but sweetened the bitter interview by offering money for a residential school. Even here, however, Oliver took care to point out that "this is done as a matter of charity towards the Indians as poor citizens, and not in any sense by way of compensation."[50]

The government's rejection of the Anglican position did not stop the missionaries. O'Meara had become personally committed to the cause of aboriginal rights and had earned a growing reputation as a defender of Native causes. He had had considerable legal experience before becoming a missionary, had written of his support for Native rights, and his sympathy for their causes was well-known. When, in 1909, the Nass River Natives organized to protest non-Native intrusion onto their lands, they selected O'Meara to represent their interests. Although Bishop Stringer was less than enthused with the loss of a missionary from his overworked diocese, he accepted O'Meara's entreaties and permitted him to go. (He was also to raise money in Britain for the Anglican Theological Seminary in Vancouver.) It was a major undertaking, for the Nass wanted O'Meara to visit the secretary of state for the colonies in Britain to press their claims.[51] He was aided in his work by the governor general's office, which offered to arrange the necessary meeting with the colonial secretary.[52] In this effort, as with O'Meara's subsequent work with the British Columbia Natives, the hope was that concerted pressure in Britain would force the Canadian government (and the province of British Columbia) to negotiate an acceptable settlement with the Natives.

While O'Meara embarked for London to continue the struggle, negotiations continued with federal officials on the school question. A second report from A.E. Green, commissioned to clarify questions about the need for a residential school, again backed Anglican requests for help, and also seconded the missionaries' petition for enhanced medical support and the appointment of a full-time Indian agent.[53] Bishop Stringer visited Ottawa himself in late April 1909, devoting most of his time to the matter of financing the Carcross School. He left his meetings with a promise of funds for a brand new facility.[54]

O'Meara, meanwhile, presented his case in London, seemingly covering both the Yukon and British Columbia situations. The Yukon question was placed before the colonial office, and discussed with the Aborigines Protection Society, with generally favourable results. O'Meara left convinced that major progress had been made, and that the "Dominion Government will take [a] satisfactory stand. The main question for decision now seems to be whether the initiative should be taken by the Imperial Government or by that of the Dominion." The Yukon representative stopped off in Ottawa on his return to Canada, anxious to spread word of his negotiations with imperial officials and to keep the pressure up for a satisfactory resolution of the Yukon Native land question.[55]

The petition on behalf of the Yukon Natives had, in fact, reached its peak. Stringer was clearly troubled by the expansion of O'Meara's activities, and wanted the missionary to focus more closely on his diocesan duties. By June 1909, Bishop Stringer was urging O'Meara to slow down his representations regarding the residential school. Stringer did not want the money set aside for the Carcross School until he returned to the Yukon and had been reassured that the one time construction grant would cover all the required costs.[56]

O'Meara's work on behalf of the Yukon Natives was finished. Church leaders in British Columbia asked O'Meara to take up land claims work on behalf of Natives in their province.[57] At the same time, a debate over O'Meara's missionary career in the Yukon led Stringer to conclude,

> I consider that you would be acting wisely if you took up secular work again as soon as convenient, giving up the wearing of clerical dress as I think that you would find it satisfactory all around.[58]

The reasons for Stringer's unfavourable comments are unclear, although O'Meara's work as a preacher had, it seems, left much to be desired. Furthermore, the missionary's heart clearly rested with Native legal work. Stringer, in the interests of his own diocese, encouraged O'Meara to pursue his old career. O'Meara moved to British Columbia, where he maintained his active, and at times controversial, support for Native rights.[59]

O'Meara's departure ended the coordinated and systematic approach to Native land claims and services in the territory. His legal talents, and obvious interest in negotiating with the federal government, were not easily replaced, particularly from the thinly staffed Yukon diocese. Bishop Stringer, who had aided and supported O'Meara's effort to a point, was too busy with other matters to devote sufficient time to prolonged negotiations. As a result, the comprehensive approach to the government stalled, replaced by episodic appeals to Ottawa based on specific missionary needs and Native problems.

It would, however, be inappropriate to suggest that the Stringer-O'Meara initiative had been barren of results. It was clear, for example, that the Anglican clergy had not expected the government to provide a treaty for the Yukon Natives. When challenged by federal officials on this point, the missionaries quickly backed off, prepared to sacrifice the broad point for movement on more pragmatic — and missionary oriented — issues. In this, Stringer revealed his moderate, non-confrontational approach, a marked change from his predecessor and one welcomed by officials in Ottawa. The change of priorities similarly indicated that it was the church's case, and not Native rights *per se*, that determined the missionaries interest in approaching the government.

Over the following years, the Yukon diocese reaped the benefits of this work with the federal government. In 1910, the government finally provided the long-debated funding for the Carcross Residential School, allowing for the construction of a modern facility and the hiring of appropriate staff.[60] In 1914, the federal government also appointed a full-time Indian agent, appropriately dipping into the ranks of the Anglican missionary corps to select long-time northern worker, John Hawksley, for the post.[61] Hawksley was not the only Indian agent appointed for a non-treaty area, for protests in other parts of the north had finally convinced the government to extend the basic privileges of Native status (medical care, relief and schooling) to other Natives not living under treaty. The developments, though far from dramatic, nonetheless represented noticeable gains in the area of Native work in the Yukon. Federal programming continued in much the same direction for the next two decades. Yukon missionaries lobbied for improved federal funding for education, and achieved some modest gains. They continued, as they had in the past, to represent their Native charges to the government while carefully placing their own demands for federal support before officials in Ottawa. With Hawksley in office (until his retirement in 1933), missionary requests usually received a sympathetic hearing; Hawksley routinely relied on missionaries to identify individuals and families in need of relief in outlying districts.

The Anglican church would not, however, launch another full-scale campaign on behalf of Native rights as it had under O'Meara and Stringer between 1907 and 1909. The concerted effort had clarified the limits of federal interest in the Yukon Natives, and indicated to the missionaries what they might realistically expect from the government. From this point on, Anglican missionaries continued their pragmatic approach, trying to improve services for the Yukon Natives and expand government support for Anglican missions.

In planning their various approaches to the federal government, the Anglican missionaries seldom consulted the Native people they claimed to represent. As was true for most missionaries, the Anglican clergy assumed that their plan for the Natives represented the best option for the future. From this logical basis, therefore, there was no need to ask the Natives for their opinion on specific questions. Bishop Stringer was upset when the Vowell and Green report on schooling included the observation that some Natives expressed little interest in education:

> The report of Messrs. Vowell and Green is just a little weakened by the last paragraph. I scarcely see why they referred to the Indians who have no schools and yet are getting along comfortably, unless it was for the purpose of offsetting to a certain extent the necessity of schools.[62]

In many instances, particularly those involving requests for relief, medical care, individual land rights, and fair treatment before the law, the Anglican clergy simply carried the Natives' requests forward. On these minor cases, the missionaries simply helped the Natives express their needs to government officials; on the broader issues of treaty and educational governments, they assumed that they knew what was best for the Natives, and proceeded without reference to their Native congregations. At the other extreme, missionaries unhesitatingly ignored Native complaints about church programs. When the Natives, for example, protested the treatment of their children at the Carcross Residential School, or asked that the children be returned to their homes, Anglican clergy paid little heed.

The Yukon example offers some useful insights into relations between the federal government and Anglican missionaries. Bompas had been largely unable to budge the federal government, primarily because he would not leave the Yukon to negotiate directly with Ottawa and seldom participated in the Canadian and imperial movements on behalf of aboriginal peoples. His more confrontational style was not offset by a careful cultivation of public support. Stringer's approach proved rather more successful, even though he had had to abandon the main cause, a treaty, in order to achieve more practical and immediate gains. Aided by O'Meara, the Bishop managed a careful and methodical cultivation of the government, drawing on public and institutional support where necessary.

The intervention of Anglican missionaries played a major rule in spurring government involvement in the Yukon district. Bompas's initial representations, which led to the dispatch of the NWMP, through Stringer's coordinated appeal for treaty negotiations and a residential school, forced the government's hand and resulted in some significant concessions, even though they ran counter to stated government policy. The federal government did not have much in the way of a Yukon Native policy before the 1950s, but what they did provide in the form of relief, medical care and education came substantially at the insistence of the Anglican clergy, and was often administered through the church's offices.

In his perceptive analysis of the Beothucks, L.F.S. Upton wondered if the demise of the Newfoundland Natives might not be explained by the absence of missionaries, or other defenders of aboriginal populations.[63] The idea is worth pursuing. The impact of Anglican education, religious and social programs on the Yukon Natives has been examined and the cultural loss that attended the advance of the missionary frontier has been demonstrated.[64] While it would be inappropriate to ignore these aspects of the Anglican efforts, it would similarly be wrong not to note that the few protections the Natives of the Yukon did enjoy, in the form of land and harvesting rights, medical care, relief programs, and education were extracted from a reluctant government by the active and committed missionaries of the Anglican church.

The Anglican church surrendered its activist position after World War II, pulled away by self-doubt about the efficacy of their missions to the Natives and supplanted by dozens of federal and territorial civil servants.[65] Having learned from the past, and still as determined as always to assist the Natives of the Yukon, the Anglican church now joins with other churches and organizations to assist the Natives in their struggle for justice and dignity. In this new role, supporter rather than initiator, Anglican clergy again find themselves approaching the federal government on behalf of the Natives of the Yukon.[66]

NOTES

1. Charles Hendry, *Beyond Traplines* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1969).
2. The standard work on the missionary impulse in Canada is John Webster Grant, *The Moon of Wintertime* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).
3. These questions are explored in Ken Coates, "Send Only Those Who Rise a Peg: Anglican Clergy in the Yukon, 1859-1932," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* (Spring 1986).
4. Ken Coates, "Furs Along the Yukon: Hudson's Bay Company-Native Trade in the Yukon River Basin, 1830-1893," *BC Studies* 55 (Autumn 1982).
5. National Archives of Canada (NAC), RG 10, vol. 3906, file 105, 378, Deputy Supt. General of Indian Affairs to T. Mayne Daly, 18 September 1893. See also ibid., Bompas to Rev. C.C. Fenn, 9 May 1893.
6. Ibid., Bompas to Minister of the Interior, 5 June 1894.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., Bompas to Minister of the Interior, 24 August 1893.
9. NAC, Church Missionary Society, Bompas to CMS, 3 January 1894.
10. Ken Coates, "A Very Imperfect Means of Education: Indian Day Schools in the Yukon, 1890-1955," in Jean Barman et al., eds., *Indian Education in Canada, Vol. 1: The Legacy* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986). See

also NAC, RG 10, vol. 3906, file 3078, Duncan Scott, Memorandum to Deputy Superintendent General, 2 January 1908.

11. This process can be followed in Ken Coates and W.R. Morrison, *Treaty 5*, and *Treaty 10*,and *Treaty 11* (Ottawa: Treaties and Historical Research Centre, 1987).
12. NAC, RG 10, vol. 3906, file 105, 378, Native Races and Liquor Traffic, United Committee to Sir Charles Tupper, January 1894.
13. Ibid., vol. 1115, Deputy Superintendent's Letterbook, 27 April 1894 - 16 November 1894, Hayter Reed to Charles Constantine, 29 May 1894.
14. Ibid., vol. 3906, file 105, 378, Report of Inspector Constantine, 10 October 1894.
15. Constantine to Herchmer, 5 January 1896, quoted in W.R. Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894-1925* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985).
16. NAC, RG 10, vol. 3962, file 147, 654-1, pt. 2, Bompas to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 5 August 1896.
17. Ibid., Bompas to Indian Commissioner, 5 September 1896.
18. Ibid., Bompas to Ross, 7 March 1903.
19. The land question is described in Ken Coates, "Best Left as Indians: The Federal Government and the Indians of the Yukon, 1894 to 1950," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 4, no. 2 (Autumn 1984).
20. NAC, RG 10, vol. 4037, file 317, 050, McLean to Jackson, 28 January 1902.
21. Constantine to Herchmer, 6 December 1896 quoted in Morrison, *Showing the Flag*, 59.
22. NAC, RG 10, vol. 3962, file 147, 654-1, pt. 2, Hayter Reed to P. Gordeau, Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 5 January 1897. Yukon Territorial Archives, Anglican Church Records (YTA-ACR), New Series, file 4, Constantine to Minister of Interior, 19 November 1896.
23. YTA-ACR, New Series, file 4, Hayter Reed to Bishop of Selkirk, 1 March 1897.
24. This can be followed in Ken Coates and W.R. Morrison, *Treaty 5*, and *Treaty 10*, and *Treaty 11* (Ottawa: Treaties and Historic Sites, 1986).
25. Coates, "Best Left as Indians."
26. NAC, RG 10, vol. 3962, file 147, 654-2, pt. 2, Bompas to Minister of the Interior, 4 April 1902; Bompas to Secretary of the Indian Department, 13 June 1902.
27. Ibid., Bompas to the Honorable J. Ross, 7 March 1903.
28. Ken Coates, "Betwixt and Between: The Anglican Church and the Children of the Carcross (Chooutla) Residential School, 1911 to 1955," *BC Studies* 64(Winter 1984/1985): 27-47.
29. See, for example, NAC, RG 10, vol. 3962, file 147, 654-1, pt. 2, Congdon to Pedley, 28 April 1903.
30. Ibid., RG 10, vol. 4001, file 207, 418, Congdon to Pedley, 28 May 1903.
31. Ibid., RG 10, vol. 3962, file 147, 654-1, pt. 2, Bompas to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 25 May 1906.
32. The best survey of Bompas's personality can be found in Kerry Abel, "The Drum and the Cross:" (Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1984). See also this volume, chapter 12, "Bishop Bompas and the Canadian Church".
33. Grant, *The Moon of Wintertime*, chapter 9.
34. Frank Peake, *The Bishop Who Ate His Boots: A Biography of Isaac O. Stringer* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1969), 104.
35. The synod was not formally constituted, but Stringer treated the gathering of clerical and lay leaders as an official meeting.
36. Peake, *The Bishop Who Ate His Boots*, 99.
37. The financial details of the Yukon diocese can best be traced in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia (PABC), Add. Mss. 1950, Box 141, Records of A.E.

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O'Meara. Many thanks to Dr. Patrick Dunae for bringing this material to my attention.

38. See, for example, NAC, RG 10, vol. 6478, file 930-1, pt. 1, Particulars regarding Yukon Indians, Secured June 1907, A.E. O'Meara.
39. PABC, Add. Mss. 1950, box 141, file 6, Stringer to O'Meara, 17 October 1907.
40. NAC, RG 10, vol. 6479, file 940-1, pt. 1, Bragg to Henderson, 14 December 1907.
41. YTA-ACR, New Series, file 3, O'Meara to Stringer, 13 January 1908.
42. Ibid., Carcross Property file, Pedley to Oliver, 23 January 1908. See also NAC, RG 10, vol. 3906, file 105, 378, Duncan Scott to Deputy Superintendent General, 21 January 1908.
43. PABC, Add. Mss. 1950, box 141, file 5, O'Meara to Alfred Thompson, 2 January 1908.
44. NAC, RG 10, vol. 3962, file 147, 654-1, McLean to Vowell, 4 April 1908.
45. PABC, Add. Mss. 1950, box 141, file 7, Stringer to O'Meara, 22 May 1908.
46. NAC, RG10, vol. 3902, file 147, 654-1, A.W. Vowell and A.E. Green to Secretary of Indian Department, 14 August 1908. On the information gathered from non-church commentators, most of whom supported the Anglicans' position, see YTA-ACR, New Series, Memo Regarding Trip to Dawson, 21 July to 8 August 1908.
47. YTA-ACR, New Series, file 3, O'Meara to Pedley, 23 October 1908, and other letters in this file.
48. PABC, Add. Mss. 1950, box 141, file 7, O'Meara to Stringer, 1 December 1908. See also 6 January 1909.
49. YTA-ACR, New Series, file 1, notes made from interview with Reverend Mr. O'Meara re: Indians in the Yukon, c. 1909. See also ibid., file 3, Requests Regarding Yukon Indians, which is a more specific listing, excluding the request for a treaty and emphasizing school grants.
50. Ibid., file 2, Notes of Interview, 26 February 1909.
51. PABC, Add. Mss. 1950, box 141, file 5, O'Meara to C.C. Owen, 11 March 1909. The British Columbia case started with a debate over land at Alert Bay. Ibid., O'Meara to Cody, 11 March 1909; O'Meara to Frank Oliver, 13 March 1909. See also ibid., O'Meara to Right Rev. Bishop Perrin, 15 March 1909. The best source on O'Meara's career is E. Palmer Patterson, "Arthur O'Meara, Friend of the Indian," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (April 1967): 91-99.
52. YTA-ACR, New Series, file 2, O'Meara to Stringer, 13 March 1909.
53. Ibid., file 3, A.E. Green to secretary of the Indian Department, 18 April 1909.
54. PABC, Add. Mss. 1950, box 141, file 8, Stringer to O'Meara, 27 April 1909.
55. Ibid., O'Meara to Stringer, 1 May 1909.
56. Ibid., Stringer to O'Meara, 3 June 1909.
57. YTA-ACR, New Series, file 2, A. E. Roberts to Stringer, 7 January 1910.
58. PABC, Add. Mss. 1950, box 141, file 9, Stringer to O'Meara, 7 March 1910.
59. Patterson, "Arthur E. O'Meara."
60. Coates, "Betwixt and Between."
61. Coates, "Best Left as Indians."
62. PABC, Add. Mss. 1950, box 141, file 8, Stringer to O'Meara, 13 March 1909.
63. L.F.S. Upton, "The Extermination of the Beothucks of Newfoundland," *Canadian Historical Review* 58, no. 2 (1977): 133-153.
64. In addition to the sources cited herein, see Ken Coates, *Best Left as Indians: Native-White Relations in the Yukon Territory, 1840-1973* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, forthcoming).
65. This process is examined in Ken Coates, "Upsetting the Rhythms: Federal

Government Programmes for the Indians of the Yukon after World War II," paper presented to the Knowing the North Conference, Boreal Institute, Edmonton, November 1986. As this transition relates to schooling, see Richard King, *The School at Mopass: A Problem of Identity* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

66. Hugh and Karmel McCullum, *This Land is Not for Sale* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1975), especially chapter 5. See also John Melling, *Right to a Future* (Toronto: Anglican and United Churches of Canada, 1967).

14

The Church of England and the Immigrants in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle

Trevor Powell

During the nineteenth century, Great Britain experienced a gigantic movement of her people overseas to seek a new life in the colonies or in the United States of America. From 1880 onwards, this exodus took on a new dimension as the number of emigrants climbed and remained above 200,000 annually for the next thirteen years and, on one occasion, in 1883, even surpassed the 300,000 mark.[1] Official returns compiled by the British government revealed that in 1880 alone approximately 228,000 had left the country's ports[2]; the vast majority of them bound for North America. In the following year, another 243,000 people of all classes were reported to have made the same journey.[3]

This vast outpouring of human resources from Great Britain prompted the archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Reverend Archibald Tait, to look at what the established church was doing to help these people, many of whom were Anglicans. To his dismay, he discovered that it was doing little or nothing to let its members know about the existence of the church overseas and the ministrations it offered to the newcomer. Ever since the sixteenth century it had been the policy of the Church of England to extend its spiritual ministrations to people departing for distant parts of the globe; however, preoccupation with party warfare and theological disputes had caused the Church of England to be remiss in fulfilling this important mission. Using the recommendations of the 1878 Lambeth Conference as his guide, Archbishop Tait reminded Anglicans that it was their duty as Christians, not only to convert non-Christians, but also to extend spiritual care to emigrants.[4] If such neglect was allowed to continue, the archbishop believed that a large proportion of Anglicans overseas would give themselves to whatever religious body offered its services first, or, even worse, they would drift away from religion altogether.[5]

To remedy this intolerable situation, Tait called upon both the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) to do more for the spiritual welfare of the emigrant. The missionary societies devised a systematic and comprehensive plan which would allow the Church of England to handle the emigration problem effectively. At Tait's request, a joint committee of SPG and SPCK representatives was formed

> to supply the clergy and others with information on the various fields for emigration, with special reference to their religious and educational advantages — information as to the clergy, churches, Sunday and day schools. Also to make arrangements where practicable for the care of emigrants from England to the colonies or the United States. This would include the provision of commendatory letters from the parochial clergy

> in England to the clergy in whose neighbourhood emigrants may desire to settle.[6]

Upon the SPCK, however, fell much of the burden of organizing and financing a system of caring for the religious and moral well-being of the emigrants from their point of departure until their arrival in their new homes.

The establishment of a chain of influence involved the appointment of chaplains at the major seaports in the United Kingdom and overseas, and eventually the use of long-voyage chaplaincies which offered a priest "who journeyed the whole way with the emigrants . . . a far better opportunity of influencing them for good than he could secure in the few hurried moments of departure."[7] As a beginning, however, Archbishop Tait requested that information on secular and ecclesiastical conditions in the colonies be distributed to parish clergy for counselling purposes.

One SPG pamphlet, entitled "North-West Canada" and issued in response to an urgent appeal from the metropolitan of Rupert's Land for additional funds and human resources, caught the imagination of the Honourable and Reverend Canon Adelbert John Robert Anson,[8] rector of St. Mary Magdalene's, Woolwich. Anson thought the lamentable state of Anglican mission work in the Canadian Northwest afforded an excellent opportunity for a bachelor with private means to rededicate himself to the service of God. Moreover, to this missioner who had already distinguished himself through his untiring labour among the urban poor of Wolverhampton and Woolwich, the extension of the church on the prairies presented a different challenge because this time a rural frontier instead of an urban one confronted him. In 1884, Anson was duly appointed bishop of Qu'Appelle[9] and given pastoral responsibility for a vast territory comprising 95,000 square miles in what is now southern Saskatchewan.

In preparing for the anticipated flood of immigrants to the Canadian Northwest, the Church of England seemed in an enviable position. No longer did it possess an establishment status which had formerly linked Anglicanism with privilege in the popular mind. Instead, Anglicans were learning the ways of voluntaryism through giving and lay participation in church government. Nor was the Church of England a newcomer to the Northwest since it rivalled the Roman Catholic Church in seniority of service and had committed far more missionaries to the evangelization of the Native people than any other Protestant denomination.

Despite this early start, the Anglican leadership in western Canada began to encounter difficulty in raising sufficient funds and human resources when it came time to mount a strong missionary advance. Countless appeals outlining the urgency and gravity of the situation seemed to fall upon deaf ears as the majority of eastern Canadian Anglicans failed to recognize that part of their nation had been designated as one of the great mission fields of the world. They generally thought of missionary work as being conducted in foreign lands, so their zeal to bring the word of God and a civilized way of life to other peoples was most readily stimulated by distance and exotic customs. In 1886 the treasurer of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society reported that Canadian Anglicans had contributed $26,000 to domestic and $16,000 to foreign missions.[10] Fifteen years later, the triennial report of the society showed that donations to foreign work had surpassed those to domestic mission work by $15,000.[11] As a result of this visible apathy towards the home field, Anglicans in the newly created western dioceses had to rely on substantial financial aid and personnel from the church in Great Britain and its missionary societies.

In characteristic fashion Bishop Anson threw himself into the missionary work of his diocese, determined that the Church of England should keep pace with other religious denominations and serve the various shifts of population on the prairie frontier. In spite of lengthy distances and trying difficulties, Anson visited the mission points of his diocese as regularly as possible, encouraging the scattered congregations to become self-supporting. He established St. John's Theological College[12] at Qu'Appelle in order to train local men for the ministry and thereby reduce the need for English clergy who often found difficulty in adjusting to the prairie environment and way of life. Anson experimented with brotherhoods as a means of reaching a scattered population and combatting the loneliness of the frontier. Only through a return to a more primitive ministry, he thought, could the Church of England on the prairies reduce its dependence on the church in Great Britain and bring an adequate supply of people to bear upon the task at hand. Steady progress in terms of church building and clergy maintenance were reported, but these successes only motivated Anson to work harder in extending the ministrations of the church. By 1887, he was able to report to diocesan synod that to his knowledge no populated district remained outside the jurisdiction of his clergy.[13]

Having been nurtured in the Catholic tradition, Bishop Anson was not just interested in reaching British immigrants, but in bringing the gospel to *all* under his pastoral care. It had become obvious to those in the field that the majority of immigrants moving into the North-West Territories during the 1880s and early 1890s were not from England, but from continental Europe and other Canadian provinces. Because of their small numbers, the various European nationalities were not perceived as a threat, but rather as a challenge to the Church of England in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle. In Anson's opinion, the real threat to Anglican strength came from Protestant Ontario where

> the Methodists nearly double the Church, and . . . there are only 385,000 Church people out of a population of 2,104,321, and . . . of these more than 70,000 live in the four chief cities, it is scarcely to be wondered at that those who come to us from the rural districts of that Province should be chiefly Methodists and Presbyterians.[14]

The 1885 census had given the Church of England a slight edge over its rivals, but it had slipped to second place by 1891. During the intervening years, the Presbyterians and Methodists had increased their numbers by 33 percent and 47 percent respectively whereas the Anglican membership had only grown by 23 percent.[15]

To ensure that the places of worship in the diocese were accessible to all people, Anson forbade the introduction of pew rents.[16] He also recommended that the title of the church be changed from "The Church of England in Canada" to a more appropriate and embracing name such as "The Church of Canada" or "The Catholic Church in Canada."[17] Without compromising Catholic principles, he advocated the adoption of simpler forms of service so that all who were not familiar with the Anglican rite could participate in united worship.[18] Lay ministry was encouraged so that services could be held on a regular basis. Active proselytism was shunned, but the authority and claims of the church as the one "Body of Christ" were boldly set before the people of other communions.

While worried about the Protestant threat from Ontario, Anson did little to counteract it other than to broaden the Church of England's appeal to the newcomer through simpler forms of services and by making places of worship more accessible. Instead, the bishop of Qu'Appelle sought closer ties with a small, but growing non-English-speaking element in his diocese who possessed a Catholic or Orthodox background. Principally from central or eastern Europe, these people maintained their language, customs and religion. For the most part, they were without religious supervision, which prompted Anson and his successor, William John Burn,[19] to look at ways of extending the gospel to them. This concern for the spiritual welfare of the non-English speaking immigrant was largely based upon the Tractarian belief that one day all Christian churches would be reunited as one under the Holy Catholic Church, thereby fulfilling Christ's intention that His church should be visible and universal. Since the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church were all founded upon Catholic principles, the Tractarians tried to make contact with members of the other two communions first. Encouraged by the ecumenicism of the 1888 Lambeth Conference, Bishop Anson began to put these Catholic principles into practice.

If the Church of England was to have any impact on these people of different nationalities, Anson believed that the missioner must meet the immigrants on their own ground. Following the practice of the Roman Catholic Church, he brought in clergy who were fluent in other languages and through the auspices of the SPCK, distributed Bibles, Prayer Books and Christian literature in the appropriate languages. Anson hoped that the immigrants "would, in time, be fused into one common nationality, one language and one faith"[20] but, in the meantime, the Church of England through its clergy and the written word could communicate with them in their own tongue.

This Anglican initiative was largely centred on the activities of one man, Theodore Alphonse Teitlebaum,[21] who possessed the rare talent of being able to speak a number of languages including German and Hungarian.[22]

Upon arrival in the diocese, Teitlebaum was immediately placed in charge of the Sumner district which covered an area of 6,000 square miles and extended from Big Cut Arm Creek to the Qu'Appelle valley.[23] People of different nationalities and creeds had settled in the district, but Teitlebaum found his ministry to the Hungarians, Germans and Bohemians the most interesting and rewarding. While the evidence is at times scanty, the Church of England in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle did make other attempts at bringing the ministrations of the church to German settlements in the Long Lake and Yorkton districts, but such missionary efforts were not sustained because of the difficulty of retaining German-speaking clergy for any length of time.[24]

Besides bringing the sacraments to the various nationalities, the Church of England was involved in educational and medical mission work among them. On a visit to St. John's College, Qu'Appelle in 1888, the Reverend F.A.G. Eichbaum noted that the Brotherhood of Labour had acquired some promising young recruits, one of whom was a German scholar in charge of a school in the St. Joseph Colony near Balgonie.[25] That same year, Teitlebaum opened a school at Esterhazy where he gave instruction in four languages.[26]

Teitlebaum was also instrumental in setting up a medical mission. Not only did he see the hospital providing medical treatment, but serving as a meeting place for the church and the newcomer. On 23 September 1895 the Saltcoats Cottage Hospital was formally opened by the Honourable C.H. Mackintosh, lieutenant governor of the North-West Territories.[27] While managed by the Church of England, this medical facility was to be open to men and women of all creeds. From the day it opened its doors, the hospital was plagued by financial problems; nevertheless, the staff rendered invaluable service to the homesteaders and their families. Teitlebaum was obviously pleased with the results. In a letter to the editor of the *Occasional Paper* he wrote:

> You would be surprised to see the different nationalities represented at the Hospital as well as to hear the different languages spoken. During the last three months we have had English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, Canadians, Americans, Hungarians, Austrians, Bohemians, Germans and Galicians.[28]

Through the personal contact offered by the hospital, Teitlebaum was able to conduct an effective pastoral ministry, visiting and counselling many people whom he normally would not have reached in making the rounds of his parish.

With Teitlebaum's departure from the diocese in 1897, extension work among the non-English-speaking immigrants effectively ceased. Bishop John Grisdale,[29] who had been elected to succeed the late William John Burn the previous year, did not share the same enthusiasm for this ministry. Coming from the evangelical tradition he did not possess the Tractarian commitment to seek closer ties with members of the Catholic or

Orthodox communions. Rather, Grisdale adhered to the Church of England's time-honoured policy that it was not a proselytizing church and therefore not willing to enter the territory of another church. Essentially the Church of England was there to take care of its own people spread throughout the British Empire, a formidable task which was already stretching its human and financial resources to the limit.

The commitment by the Tractarian leadership in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle to the spiritual well-being of the non-English-speaking immigrants on their own ground must be considered an anomaly. Generally historians have concluded that the Church of England did not participate in the Protestant missionary crusade to "Christianize" and "Canadianize" the foreigners.[30] For the most part they have been correct in their assessment. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, Anglicans were preoccupied with national consolidation, theological debates and party division. Because national union did not occur until 1893, church extension work was left to individual dioceses.

In the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, churchmanship was largely behind the decision to meet the non-English-speaking immigrants and the type of approach that initiative was to take. Being of the Catholic tradition, the Anglican leadership and its clergy did not undertake mission work among these people with the same aggressive spirit of the Presbyterians and Methodists. Like their Roman Catholic contemporaries, the Tractarians felt the assimilation of the immigrants was not as important as their integration into the Anglican Communion as members of the Holy Catholic Church. In so doing, they helped to ease newcomers into the Canadian way of life.

In the North-West Territories, the rate of population growth was entirely determined by immigration. Any increase in denominational strength was therefore largely dependent upon the place of origin. But neither the Church of England nor its missionary societies would officially sponsor or endorse emigration schemes — it was their policy not to promote emigration, but to leave such business to individuals, government and philanthropic organizations. Nonetheless, many members of that religious body did become involved in the process. These Anglicans — both clergy and laity alike — were not content to see their church supply the ministrations of religion while other denominations actively supported colonization schemes for their members. Instead they sought a more socially active role in colonizing distant parts of the empire with Anglicans preferably, but more importantly, with good British stock. When the church did not respond to these appeals, some members assumed the role of immigration agents.

Two such activists were the Reverends John Bridger and George Exton Lloyd[31] who in their own way came to exert considerable influence, not only in the board rooms of the missionary societies, but also in the colonial church. Much has been written about Lloyd's involvement in helping the Reverend Isaac Barr to bring British colonists to the Diocese of

Saskatchewan, but very little has been recorded of Bridger's role in establishing so-called church settlements in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle.

As early as 1881 the emigration chaplain from St. Nicholas' Church in Liverpool had been calling for the church to meet the spiritual wants of its members leaving Britain to seek a new life in the Canadian Northwest. When the metropolitan of Rupert's Land formed the Church of England Settlers' Society that same year,[32] Bridger promoted its objectives of advising and assisting the prospective settlers, being or desiring to become an Anglican, of the secular and religious facilities awaiting them in the new country. In a letter to the editor of the *Dominion Churchman*, the Reverend William Laggo of Winnipeg informed its readers that Bridger had not only distributed printed fly-sheets in Liverpool, but had gone so far as to have

> brought the matter before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and urged his Grace to give the great weight of his name and influence to the establishment of organizations in England charged with the duty of giving Churchmen full information about migrating as to the country they propose to reach; and of furnishing them with letters, when desired, to the clergy and officers of a Settlers Society, whenever such a body had been established.[33]

As organizing secretary and chaplain for emigrants at Liverpool and all ports of the United Kingdom, Bridger was also influential in getting the SPCK to appoint a chaplain at Winnipeg.[34]

It was not until 1884 that Bridger became actively involved in promoting a colonization scheme for the Diocese of Qu'Appelle. At that time a group of interested churchmen, including the Reverend Canon Prothels, chaplain to the Queen, the Right Honourable H.C. Raikers, MP and James Rankin, MP, formed the Church Colonization Land Society (CCLS).[35] Intrigued by the success of the Canterbury settlement in New Zealand,[36] the directors — one of whom was John Bridger — decided to purchase agricultural land in the Canadian Northwest and reserve it for settlement by prospective English farmers. From the start this settlement plan was strongly endorsed by the bishop of Qu'Appelle who saw it not only as a means of increasing denominational strength, but of insuring that Catholic doctrine and practice were firmly implanted in the colonial church. Actual settlement of these lands did not begin until May of 1887 when the first party of colonists, accompanied by Bridger, arrived in the Northwest and located at a site along the Manitoba and Northwest Railway called "Churchbridge."[37] Under the direction of Professor Henry Tanner of the Royal Agricultural College, another settlement to be named "Christ Church" was being prepared at Albany near Indian Head.[38]

Unlike most newcomers, the English colonists who came out under the auspices of the CCLS found houses ready for occupancy, some land already cultivated and sown, and oxen and implements awaiting use. Moreover, the society hired experienced Canadian farmers to advise the new tenants of the prevailing agricultural conditions and to teach them farming techniques. Both the Churchbridge and Christ Church settlements were established by the CCLS in a manner that gave physical comfort to the newly arrived families, "such being a necessary precedent to their ultimate success and comfort in life; and this is supplemented by arrangements, whereby necessaries are provided in the form of schools, church service and medical care."[39] For many years Tanner had given much thought to the conditions facing immigrants upon arrival in the Northwest. In his opinion, most of their difficulties arose from the isolation imposed by the settlement pattern.[40] To avoid this problem he designed his own plans of settlement which the society later adopted and implemented.

Loneliness and the lack of educational and religious facilities would not be problems in the CCLS-sponsored settlements. Of the Churchbridge experiment, the Reverend J.W. Gregory wrote:

> An attempt has been made to obviate this by a company making terms with Government to settle a certain portion of land on the same principle that was carried out with so much success in the Canterbury settlement in New Zealand; the great point being to do away with the drawback of every alternate square mile being reserved by government from settlements. At Churchbridge, in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, a township 36 square miles, has been secured. Land will be reserved in the center of this for church and schools, and 70 families will be able to have farms, none of which will be at a greater distance from market, church, and schools, than three and a half miles. My present congregation come from a radius of 20 miles, very few having less than 8 miles to drive.[41]

While the society provided educational, agricultural and medical assistance, for church privileges, the settlers, all members of the Church of England, had to rely upon the local diocese.

Arrangements were made with the bishop of Qu'Appelle to have clergymen bring the ministrations of the church to the colonists on a regular basis. Reverend J.W. Gregory assumed responsibility for the Churchbridge settlement, and those clergy stationed at Qu'Appelle and Indian Head looked after the Christ Church settlement. Originally the directors of the society had decided that a tenth of all monies raised was to be put aside for church endowment purposes, but it would appear that this plan had been discarded by the time the settlements were actually occupied. Nevertheless, the CCLS did finance the construction of a church school at Churchbridge which was used during the week for teaching lessons and on Sundays for worship services.[42] Before long the colonists had built a parsonage so that they could have the benefits of a resident priest. Upon taking up residence in 1889, Gregory immediately canvassed for money to erect a building for church purposes only.

While religious life at Churchbridge prospered initially, such was not the case at the Christ Church settlement. Within two years of its establishment, the community had to be abandoned for economic reasons.[43] The future of Churchbridge seemed more promising, but even that settlement fell upon hard times. By the mid-1890s, the town property and buildings had been sold and the CCLS had gone into liquidation. Of this failure, a correspondent to the *Occasional Paper* would later write:

> schemes of settlement by colonization have seldom, if ever, succeeded in this country in the case of English-speaking people. The spirit of freedom and liberty (if not license!) peculiar to the colonies appears to take possession of them. It seems better to leave immigrants to roam about, and be guided by their own opinion or fancy as to where they settle. Such settlement is more likely to be permanent and happy. No doubt the indifferent, if not bad seasons which occurred made it impossible for the new, and in some cases inexperienced farmers to meet their liabilities to the Company.[44]

In all, the society expended $40,000 in establishing the two colonies. Thus, when the colonizing scheme failed, its shareholders, including Bridger, suffered considerable monetary loss. Despite this misfortune, he continued to promote emigration to Canada, but, as far as is known, never participated in another colonization attempt. Perhaps this business enterprise might have been successful if it had been sponsored by the church as a whole rather than established as a profit-making venture. Notwithstanding the inexperience of the colonists and the prevailing economic hardships, with the financial support of the church and the unifying power of their faith, the settlers might have been able to survive the lean years. As long as the church remained noncommittal towards colonization schemes, however, such thoughts were purely speculative.

Exercising their position of authority within a divided Canadian church, the first two bishops of Qu'Appelle — Anson and Burn — tried to put Tractarian principles into practice. Their recognition and understanding of catholicity led them to seek closer ties with those of a Catholic or Orthodox background; and their desire to improve Anglican numbers, but more importantly to strengthen the Catholic position within the diocese, caused them to endorse emigration and assist church settlement schemes. In both cases, it was essential that sacramental worship and teachings be the centre of the church's ministry to the newcomer. Translating such principles into action came at a price since these initiatives contravened time-honoured Church of England policies. Rightly or wrongly such action was seen as benefitting the Catholic party more than the missionary cause. This perception created more fear and suspicion which further delayed Anglicans from banding together in a united effort to meet the immigrants.

NOTES

1. A. Wood, *Nineteenth Century Britain, 1815-1914* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1966), 451.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. *Dominion Churchman*, 2 February 1882, p. 52.
5. W.O.B. Allen and E. McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898* (1898; New York: Lenox Hill, 1970), 414.

6. *Dominion Churchman*, 2 February 1882, p. 52.
7. W.O.B. Allen and E. McClure, "Report of the Emigration Committee of SPCK," 7 July 1896, p. 6.
8. Adelbert John Robert Anson (1840-1909). The third son of the Earl of Lichfield, he sought a career in the church following graduation from Christ Church, Oxford, in 1864. His early ministry was conducted in the highly industrial area of South Staffordshire. Anson was consecrated bishop of Qu'Appelle on 24 June 1884.
9. Diocese of Qu'Appelle. This prairie see was set apart from the Diocese of Saskatchewan in 1883 by the synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land. Initially it was called Assiniboia and its boundaries corresponded to those of the civil district of Assiniboia. The diocesan synod, at Anson's request, changed the name of the diocese to Qu'Appelle.
10. *Dominion Churchman*, 23 September 1886, p. 583.
11. T.R. Millman, "Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, 1883-1902," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 19 (July-December 1977): 174.
12. For more information about the role of the college see L.H. Murray, "St. John's College, Qu'Appelle, 1885-1894," *Saskatchewan History* 11 (Winter 1958): 18-29.
13. *Qu'Appelle Synod Journal* (1887): 8.
14. Ibid. (1892): 4.
15. Ibid., 3.
16. *Our Messenger* 3, no. 6 (June 1890): 97-98.
17. *Dominion Churchman*, 24 June 1886, p. 393.
18. Ibid., 16 April 1885, p. 252.
19. William John Burn (1851-1896). Following his graduation from St. John's College, Cambridge, Burn was ordained deacon by the bishop of Ely in 1874. Two years later he returned to his native country and Diocese of Durham where he served as curate of St. Paul's, Jarrow-on-Tyne from 1876 to 1881 and then as vicar of St. Peter's in the same town from 1881 to 1890. Eventually Burn's life and ministry among the working poor was brought to an end through a breakdown in health. He retired to a country living until his appointment as bishop of Qu'Appelle.
20. *Church Messenger* 3, no. 11 (November 1890): 177.
21. Following graduation from St. Boniface College, Warminster, Teitlebaum, though still a deacon, was immediately given responsibility for a large mission field. On 21 December 1890 he was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Anson.
22. *Occasional Paper* 16 (January 1889): 4.
23. Ibid., 19 (October 1889): 13.
24. Ibid., 16 (January 1889): 6 and ibid., 24 (January 1891): 10; *Church Messenger* 3, no. 11 (November 1890): 177.
25. *Occasional Paper* 16 (January 1889): 13.
26. Ibid., 18 (April 1889): 13-14.
27. Ibid., 47 (February 1897): 12.
28. Ibid., 50 (November 1897): 8-9.
29. John Grisdale (1845-1922). Acting upon a boyhood desire to become a missionary, Grisdale entered the CMS College at Islington in 1865. Following graduation five years later, he was posted to India, but sunstroke forced him to return to England. Grisdale went to Canada to work under Bishop Machray in 1873. He came to hold a number of important positions in the Diocese of Rupert's Land including that of dean of Rupert's Land and prolocutor of provincial synod.

In 1896 Grisdale succeeded the late Bishop Burn as third bishop of Qu'Appelle, an office which he held until his retirement in 1911.

30. M. Barber, "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel: The Protestant Church Response to Foreign Immigrants in Western Canada, 1897-1914," in R. Allen, ed., *The Social Gospel in Canada* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 205.
31. George Exton Lloyd (1861-1940). Following graduation from Wycliffe College, Toronto and ordination to the diaconate, Lloyd acted as a chaplain to the militia during the North-West Rebellion. He eventually returned to England to undertake deputation work for the Colonial and Continental Church Society. With the Reverend Isaac Barr, Lloyd established the Britannian Colony at Lloydminster in 1903. After many years of service in the Diocese of Saskatchewan as archdeacon and principal of Emmanuel College, he was consecrated bishop of that see in 1922.
32. *Dominion Churchman*, 15 May 1881, p. 213.
33. Ibid., 25 May 1882, p. 249.
34. *The Guardian*, 13 June 1883, p. 867.
35. National Archives of Canada, Department of the Interior, Dominion Lands Branch file 84284, A.F. Aden, Manitoba and North West Railway Company to Sir David McPherson, minister of the Interior, 22 January 1885 (microfilm copy, Saskatchewan Archives Board).
36. Canterbury Settlement. At the instigation of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, colonial theorist and a friend, John Robert Godley, the Canterbury Association was organized in 1848 with the object of founding a Church of England settlement in New Zealand. Two years later the association was granted 2.5 million acres of land for distribution to prospective settlers. According to the *Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 298, "the settlement was intended to be a transplanted cross section of the best of English society, complete from bishop and gentry to artisans and labourers, and emigrants were to be selected so that as far as possible 'none but persons of good character, as well as members of the Church of England, shall form part of the population, at least in its first stages; so that the settlement may begin its existence in a healthy moral atmosphere'."
37. *The Church Times*, 29 April 1887, p. 355.
38. Ibid.
39. *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 14 April 1887, p. 8.
40. Ibid., 1 September 1887, p. 2.
41. *The Church Times*, 22 July 1887, p. 355.
42. Ibid., 18 January 1889, p. 49.
43. Ibid., 20 September 1889, p. 847.
44. *Occasional Paper* 69 (August 1902): 16.

15

The Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Teachers

Marilyn Barber

"Keep Canada British and Christian." The letters KCBC inscribed in the four corners of the cover of its magazine succinctly expressed the aims of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf (FML). The FML linked the interests of empire with the strength of the Church of England to reinforce both simultaneously in western Canada. The agents initially chosen to lead in building a British Christian society were not church missionaries but professional teachers of the Anglican faith recruited in the British Isles. Since more suitable women than men applied to teach in western Canada, the Fellowship came to rely primarily on women to carry out its work. The organization and financial support of the FML enabled British women to seek employment, adventure, and service to others in the Canadian west.

The FML formed part of a shared Protestant effort to meet the challenge created by the rapid settlement of western Canada in the early twentieth century. Yet the Fellowship, which stressed denominational loyalties, was distinctly Anglican. For it, the Church of England constituted the most desirable form of Christianity and the strongest bond of empire. In the words of the founder of the FML, "the more we can do to make that great nation of the future *Christian*, according to our own Anglican form, the more we are helping to keep them British as well."[1] While the difficulties of ministering to a scattered population on the vast Canadian prairies led the Presbyterian and Methodist churches to cooperation and eventually to church union, the Anglican church stood apart. Presbyterians and Methodists looked to eastern Canada for support; Anglicans on the prairies received most of their funds and personnel from the British Isles. While Presbyterians and Methodists viewed their churches as national churches with a national responsibility, Anglicans had a stronger commitment to the imperial tie.

The FML came into existence at the end of World War I because of the tremendous energy, enthusiasm, and determination of one churchman — the Reverend George Exton Lloyd. As a young man of twenty, Lloyd sailed to Canada in 1881 with a party of British boys destined to farms in Ontario. He completed his divinity training at Wycliffe College, Toronto, and after serving in Ontario and New Brunswick returned to England in 1900 to act as deputation secretary for the Colonial and Continental Church Society (CCCS). In 1903 Lloyd came to Saskatchewan as chaplain of the Barr colony. Shortly thereafter, he accepted the position of principal of Emmanual College, the Anglican theological college in Saskatoon supported by the CCCS. Acutely aware of the lack of Anglican resources, Lloyd committed himself to strengthening the Church of England in Saskatchewan.[2]

To Lloyd, a British immigrant like many Anglican clergymen in western Canada, the British connection seemed natural and essential. Lloyd made his home in Saskatchewan and identified his mission with the province. Yet it is not surprising that he turned to England when he sought support for his work. Personal contacts as well as the organizational structures of church societies created closer ties to Britain than to central Canada. The Church of England was weak in Saskatchewan, ranking fourth behind the Presbyterians, Methodists and Roman Catholics.[3] Lloyd was quite representative of Anglican churchmen in the west, seeking both funds and personnel in England.

To compensate for the shortage of ordained clergy, Lloyd recruited lay workers. He relied on women to serve as helpers in the sphere of women's work. At Lloyd's request, in 1907 the CCCS began to sponsor women who would assist the clergy, conduct the "Sunday school by post", and work with women and girls in western Canada. In 1909, Lloyd persuaded the Ladies' Association of the CCCS to extend the recruitment by funding the emigration and training of women teachers for the government schools of western Canada. The Colonial Teachers' Scheme, as it was called, sponsored only a few teachers before the war — nineteen by 1913 — but established a framework of operation, including a hostel in Saskatoon.[4]

As enlistment for the war depleted the already thin ranks of the Anglican clergy in western Canada, Lloyd pressed for an expanded teachers' scheme which would include men. Encountering opposition from the CCCS, Lloyd resigned his position at Emmanuel, severed all connection with the CCCS, and returned to England in order, as he stated, "to work out the plan for the School Teachers independently."[5] In 1916, from the "House of the Maple Leaf," Clapham Common, London, Lloyd began to organize the FML as a separate church society.

To establish a new church society linking Britain and Canada, Lloyd knew that he needed support on both sides of the Atlantic. That support he received, although initially the response in Britain was more enthusiastic than in Canada. In Britain, Lloyd recruited members for the FML and established branches by holding meetings, issuing pamphlets, publishing a newsletter, and contacting influential church people. He insisted that the FML must be conducted in a non-party spirit in order that both evangelicals and high church adherents might cooperate in the work.[7] Soon the letterhead of the Fellowship displayed an impressive and growing list of both clerical and lay supporters. On the Canadian side, the backing which Lloyd received from the Reverend Harding, bishop of Qu'Appelle, was critical. Like Lloyd, Harding had come to Canada from England as a young man. While he regretted the party character of Lloyd's previous work at Emmanuel, he shared Lloyd's interest in benefiting church and empire through British immigration. Harding joined Lloyd in securing the cooperation of the Saskatchewan government, and it was Harding's endorsement of the plan which convinced many British church people that the Fellowship had sufficient Canadian support. Regina became the first Canadian receiving and training centre for the FML. When Lloyd returned to Canada as bishop of Saskatchewan in 1922, he opened the Diocese of Saskatchewan to the FML, and Saskatoon joined Regina as a major receiving centre. The work of the Fellowship also extended into other western dioceses but Saskatchewan remained the main focus. On becoming bishop of Saskatchewan, Lloyd retained his title as director of the FML but chose his assistant, the Reverend P.J. Andrews, to carry on the active work of the Fellowship in Britain.[8] Born in England and trained at Emmanuel College, Saskatoon, Andrews shared Lloyd's commitment to the Church of England as the supreme bond of empire. With Andrews succeeding Lloyd, the principles guiding the work of the FML remained unchanged through the 1920s.

Lloyd attached great importance to his teachers' plan. Drawing a close connection between "such work as ours, of the Maple Leaves, and that of the army of the Maple Leaf in France," he believed that Fellowship teachers would help create a better society in western Canada and ensure that war sacrifices had not been in vain.[9] As "missionaries of empire," the British Anglican teachers would provide leadership for British settlers and promote the assimilation of foreign children and families. A low church Anglican, Lloyd shared the evangelical Protestant interest in the assimilation of immigrants, but the emotional basis of his concern was rigidly defensive. While many Protestant leaders showed sympathy for the plight of the immigrants, Lloyd expressed only fear of the threat posed by foreign immigrants, especially the new immigrants from eastern Europe, commonly called Galicians. Lloyd accepted without question the racial theories which explained the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race. In his view, the Galician immigrants threatened Canadian social standards because they lived "like animals as the result of centuries of European peasant life under hard conditions."[10] They endangered Canadian political democracy because their bloc settlements could be manipulated unscrupulously. They created a religious threat because the Roman Catholic church sought to "hive them off" under its control. Hence Lloyd insisted that the foreign immigrants must be assimilated in order to preserve the British Christian character of western Canada.[11]

Anglican teachers seemed to be ideal agents for the mission of leadership and assimilation. Through the state schools, they could work among a mixed population where "the intentions of the clergy are likely to be misinterpreted."[12] Lloyd expected Maple Leaf teachers to provide nondenominational Christian leadership where necessary and Anglican leadership where possible. In schools attended by children of varying religious backgrounds, the teachers could not introduce specifically Anglican doctrine. There must be no reason to suspect the Church of England was trying to institute "separate schools" such as the Roman Catholics wanted in western Canada.[13] Nevertheless, by establishing the proper atmosphere in the schools, the teachers could impart moral and religious training as well as academic instruction. Lloyd explained:

> I would not be right to attempt to teach Church of England doctrine in these day schools. We must play the game fairly and take no undue advantage. We have no right to put in a Church of England teacher in order to make the children "Church." These are Government Schools and every religion has an equal right there. We will not try to do anything but

> what is straightforward, above board and our perfect right to do. We do not want to imitate the Jesuit. But we can help to make these schools British in tone and ideal. We can have a Christian atmosphere in the daily work. We can give plain Scripture instruction to the children on the week day as far as the law allows, and open and close the schools with daily prayer.[14]

Compromises rarely satisfy anyone completely. In this case, skeptics might be excused for wondering whether the neutral Christian message, conveyed by teachers chosen for their Anglican faith, might come clothed in Anglican garb.

Outside school hours, the constraints on the teachers were removed. They could provide religious leadership to the community in a variety of ways, the most important being the conducting of Sunday schools.[15] Lloyd had established the "Sunday school by post" to assist in the religious education of Anglican children in the outlying districts, but correspondence did not have the same influence as a teacher's presence.[16] In the immediate postwar years, British churchwomen also operated a Sunday school motor caravan, using vans to travel around the western dioceses in the summer months and conduct Sunday school classes. Their work in the local districts was of a transitory, organizational nature, and they, like Lloyd, looked to the Maple Leaf teachers to carry on more permanent activity.[17]

The FML stressed the need for careful selection of candidates. Maple Leaf teachers were recruited by a network of Fellowship branches in the British Isles and by an extensive publicity campaign conducted through church, educational, and public channels. In addition to possessing the academic qualifications required for teachers by the Saskatchewan Department of Education, candidates had to be committed Anglicans with missionary spirit, "baptized, confirmed, communicants, of real Christian convictions... *willing* to do something beyond what they are paid to do, for the sake of *church* and *empire*."[18] While the religious criteria was the most important, the FML also considered the social background of applicants. As Lloyd wrote to the Saskatchewan Department of Education, "We will not touch any candidate who does not come up to a good standard in character, refinement, general education, and social surroundings."[19] Some of the recruiting appeals conveyed the interest in social refinement. One teacher recollected:

> I heard of the scheme first in London. . . I attended a Service in St. Paul's Cathedral one Sunday where Bishop Lloyd of Saskatchewan (then Archdeacon) was the preacher that evening, and he was appealing to Church of England Girls to come out to the Prairies — mainly to Saskatchewan — he mentioned the "Tennis racquet girl," and one rather got the impression that he was trying to get girls of the Upper Middle Class.[20]

While not all Maple Leaf teachers came from the upper middle class, candidates had to have the backing of a guarantor acceptable to the FML, and were considered carefully, usually at a personal interview, by members of the executive.

The FML recruited both qualified teachers and those who wished to become teachers by training in Canada. For interested candidates who could pay their own expenses the Fellowship provided information about Canada and made arrangements for their voyage and reception in the new country. For the majority of candidates who lacked sufficient funds, the Fellowship also provided financial assistance. It gave bursaries for travel costs to western Canada and for the training expenses of those who attended Normal School in Canada. The bursaries constituted a loan which the Fellowship expected to be repaid so that the money could be recycled to support other candidates. In the immediate postwar years, the Saskatchewan government welcomed the British teachers because of the scarcity of teachers within the province. The Department of Education preferred teachers who gained experience of Canadian methods by training in Canada, but also accepted qualified British teachers.[21] For financial reasons, those who attended Normal School in the early 1920s generally took only one term of training, lasting fifteen weeks, and then taught for two years before completing the second half of their training. In addition, over half of the teachers for whom information is available proceeded directly to schools with their British teaching qualifications. As a result, teachers, who mainly ranged in age from eighteen to the mid-thirties and who had been selected because of their "good refinement and social surroundings," arrived at isolated prairie schools with limited or no Canadian training.[22]

Although the FML tried to attract both men and women, most of the candidates were women. Elementary school teaching had become primarily a female occupation in Britain as in Canada. Certain churchmen also suggested that women teachers were more likely to possess the necessary religious spirit. As Lloyd had been informed earlier:

> there is a much more general Christian feeling amongst women elementary teachers then men. We should have great difficulty in discovering men of sufficient spiritual qualifications in any appreciable numbers.[23]

One teacher, whose ambition was not to make money but to teach in the northern bush, exemplified this missionary spirit. She attended an illustrated lecture which Bishop Lloyd gave at her London training college, and decided that she wanted to dedicate her life to teaching in pioneer districts. Being told that she was too young, she resorted to earnest prayer and to reading library books about the west, until eventually she was accepted.[24] Another teacher gave up a good clerical job at the Imperial Institute in London in order to go to Canada. She heard Lloyd preach at a church in West London and thought that it would be "nice to go where you were needed."[25]

Women had been educated to find fulfillment through service, but in postwar British society where women outnumbered men, many also needed employment in order to support themselves. One Maple Leaf teacher had problems trying to find a satisfactory teaching position in England. Unable to control the sixty boys in a working class school in northern England, she obtained a position in a small private girls' boarding school in Sussex, but the salary provided only pocket money. Since she had always wanted to travel, she responded to the FML advertisement in a teachers' magazine as a way of solving her problems.[26] Similarly, another Maple Leaf teacher who finished training in 1923 at St. Gabriels of the Archangel, a Church of England college in south London, sent applications all over England with no success. She applied when a teacher home on holiday gave a talk on her life in Saskatchewan at an "Old Girls' Meeting" at her former secondary school.[27] Whether women wanted to make a contribution to society or needed employment or both, the FML offered funding and connections which enabled them to travel and broaden their horizons.

Lloyd initially had wished to recruit men for the "foreign districts," leaving women to work in English-speaking districts, because "in almost all of these foreign districts the teacher must be male and anyone who has had to pass a night in their houses will readily appreciate why this is so."[28] The difficulty of obtaining suitable male teachers frustrated his intent. Therefore, he justified the reliance on women by stating, "We are not asking English girls to go into Central Africa or the middle of China, but into districts where they will always find a certain number of people of their own views and instincts."[29] The FML expected British women to serve as teachers in the same way as men, but it anticipated that their future in western Canada might be quite different from their male colleagues. While the bishop of Qu'Appelle was interested in obtaining young men who could progress from teaching to the ministry, he welcomed women as future wives and mothers. As explained in an article in the FML *Magazine*:

> Clearly what we have to do is to re-distribute throughout the Empire according to sex and redress the balance — too many unmarried women in England, not enough in Canada. The work of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf will help in this very essential matter by sending out young women to take up the work of teaching in the little prairie schools of Western Canada. If they decide to marry after a year or two of teaching — well and good — or rather. . . so much the better.[30]

In particular, English women were needed because "English men, of all nationalities in the West, marry more than any others, out of their own nationality. This is not a desirable thing."[31] The women who came to Canada as Maple Leaf teachers did not share the concern for the redistribution of population within the empire and the maintenance of the Anglo-Saxon race, but inevitably the presence of bachelors on the prairies did lead many to make a more permanent commitment to Canada than they had intended originally.

Once the teachers left the receiving centres of Regina and Saskatoon, they had to rely on their own resources, often in isolated districts. Teachers obtained their schools in a variety of ways. The FML placed some, securing positions through an Anglican network of clergy and sympathetic trustees, or through contact with the Department of Education. Others found positions by their own efforts — through the Teachers' Exchange, by answering advertisements in newspapers, or by knowing or being introduced to someone in Canada. This haphazard method of selecting schools scattered Maple Leaf teachers around the entire province.[32] Nevertheless, a significant number did go to the more outlying rural schools, such as those north of Lloydminster and North Battleford and in the Melfort-Nipawin region. A missionary spirit may have aided the choice, but these were also among the schools most readily available and least sought by experienced Canadian teachers. By circumstance, as much as by design, many of the teachers found themselves in very challenging conditions.

Maple Leaf teachers seldom had companionship in their work. Unlike many Anglican women church workers who served in pairs or lived with co-workers in a community setting, the teachers usually taught alone in one-room schools. The trip to the more remote school districts reinforced the sense of isolation. As one teacher explained, "I had kind of a job getting there." She made the trip by train and mailman's truck, with the final stage being in the buggy of a helpful Norwegian farmer who rescued her when she was stranded at the store at Robinhood. In her words:

> They told me I must come to North Battleford from Saskatoon, then take the train out to Prince and the mailman would be there sometime in the day and he'd be taking the letters up to Robinhood and I could get a ride with him. He'd been going with horses but it was his first time with an old truck. So I was to hang about, so I did. I got off the train and I went and inquired and they said no he hadn't come in yet but I could get some dinner at the little store there. . . The mailman eventually came. It was getting duskish, and of course there was I with my trunk and my tennis racquet, probably an umbrella, and we jogged up over the Indian reserve.[33]

Similarly, a teacher who came to Saskatchewan in 1923 recalled many years later the impression created by the trip to her first school:

> It was quite an adventure for me, to leave my home and family and journey alone to an unknown land. I was almost twenty-one years old and had just finished my two years' teacher training in London. I was told of an opening for me at Birch Lake school, some sixty miles north of North Battleford. This school was opening on February 1st, after being closed for six months. My instructions were to go to North Battleford, stay overnight, then go by rail to Prince, where the mailman would pick me up and deliver me to my destination. . . We set off in an open sleigh, loaded with mail sacks, and stayed at a 'stopping house' run by a brisk lovable Irish woman full of kindness for a forlorn English girl who was, by then, wondering whatever possessed her to leave the comforts of city life for this wild country... The next day meant mile after mile along lonely trails.[34]

Some teachers managed to alleviate the isolation by purchasing bicycles or obtaining horses which they used to visit teachers in neighbouring schools on weekends. They thus benefited from the chance to share problems and gain mutual support. The greater mobility provided by the bicycle also increased the opportunities for social recreation. One teacher reported that she rode her bicycle to the nearest town five miles away where there was a tennis court, "not exactly in Wimbledon condition, but still a tennis court, where I have already played twice, and had lots of fun."[35] Nevertheless, for much of the time, the teachers had little contact outside their own school district.

Living conditions, whether in a teacher's shack near the school or boarding with a family, frequently tested the teacher's adaptability. Maple Leaf teachers expected to go to pioneer districts, but did not realize the full implications regarding accommodation. Those anticipating a "furnished residence" on the school grounds often were shocked to find that the residence was a small shack quite poorly equipped. One teacher described her new home in detail:

> My new home was by no means prepossessing and distinctly on the cold side. As for furniture, the sitting-room contained, first and foremost, a cooking stove, a shaky table, two old rickety chairs without backs, and a small collection of cups and plates. Nothing but boards, of course, on the floors. The bedroom contained a bed, not too bad, but shabby, a clumsy dressing table with an odd glass stuck on to it, and an old rickety box for a washstand and a basin to wash in. The walls boasted of one or two presentations of 'art' in the form of advertisements. Such a wreck of a place I had never before seen. I should think that the school board must have furnished it at Woolworths.[36]

Teachers who boarded with a family encountered other problems, including a lack of privacy. Female teachers might be asked to share not only the bedroom but also the bed with a daughter of the house. In one case, the teacher slept upstairs under the eaves where the partition dividing her section from that of the hired man was literally paper thin so that, as she commented, "when he snored, I was wondering if it was me."[37] FML teachers learned the hard way about poverty, disease, and problems of health and sanitation. Even staying with a "cleanish" family, one teacher found that "the bedbugs used to walk across the page sometimes" if she did homework on the table in her shared bedroom.[38] Contaminated water from a school well left another teacher seriously ill in hospital for a lengthy period.[39]

With "a sense of humour, a tough digestion, and the power to adapt," most teachers persevered.[40] They tackled the shacks with soap suds, and, in the manner of pioneer women across the prairie, beautified them with tablecloths, curtains, calendars, and photographs of loved ones at home. Those living in crowded boarding conditions, with families whose manners sometimes differed considerably from their own, stressed how good the experience was for their character. Some found positive enjoyment in an open outdoor environment, taking advantage of opportunities to ride horses and camp. Nevertheless, the strain of physical hardship and social isolation was shown in FML demands for "welfare work" among the teachers because the teachers themselves "needed caring for."[41]

Maple Leaf teachers believed their work to be "very much worthwhile."[42] Especially in poorer districts, the teachers felt that they could make a real contribution if they could overcome the obstacles to their work. The schools possessed so little equipment and the pupils needed to learn so much! As a teacher in a mixed district reported:

> If the English children cannot learn even in the most isolated country school, well then the teachers ought to be ashamed of themselves and the children too, for in England schools are equipped with everything they want in comparison with the country school here. I think it would do some of the old grumblers at home good to come out and rough it on the

> prairie for a while — a school, with four bare walls, and no ink nor paper, nor a picture, or anything but a handful of kiddies who don't know what it is to say 'please' or 'thank you', and who don't know the meaning of 'grace'. . . or cannot sing or skip or march — who never heard of George V, yet they do know a little bit of 'God Save the King', but they certainly do not know much about the use of soap and water.[43]

Mary Cameron reported in 1928 that she had forty-seven children in eight grades, most of the children being Ruthenian with a sprinkling of English-speaking among them.[44] The next year she taught "58 bairns ranging from all ages."[45] Nor was her experience unique. Another teacher asking the FML for assistance had forty-eight children of ages 7 to 15, only three of whom were English-speaking.[46] School conditions varied as much as the size of the class. Most one-room rural schools were frame buildings heated by a wood-burning stove. School hygiene reports showed that some were well equipped and maintained but others suffered from inadequate cleanliness or repair.[47] Similarly, the knowledge and living standards of the children varied considerably from prosperous well-established communities to the poorer more remote schools, often in mixed or ethnic communities.

Left to their own initiative to compensate for school conditions, Maple Leaf teachers relied upon the support system which they knew. They sent to friends or relatives in Britain for books, magazines and pictures to introduce their pupils to the outside world. Through the British connection, they expanded the horizons of children who knew little of "civilization and things naturally known to every English child."[48] One incident recounted by a teacher served as an illustration for FML supporters:

> I was one day showing a lot of pictures to a little girl aged seven years, and we came to one of a steamship with two huge funnels and smoke pouring from the same: "There now Helena, what do you think this is?" A lengthy pause and puckered brows, deep thought and happy solution. "Oh, I know, it is a tree!"[49]

The teachers tried to alleviate the physical as well as the mental deprivation of their pupils. One who taught in northwest Saskatchewan recalled how she walked to school through deep snow before Christmas "like good King Wenceslaus" with a pack of kindling on her back because:

> most of my little kids were Ukrainians and just so poor and they all came from the other direction and I knew that if I wasn't there to unlock the door they'd be on the doorstep there half clothed. . . Those poor little kids with their feet wrapped up with rags stuck into old rubbers, old army coats or something like that and no mitts — they'd put their hands up their sleeves — a chunk of dried bread for their lunch.[50]

Distressed by the poverty which sent children to school without adequate clothes or food, teachers requested warm clothing from Britain — sweaters and tweed britches such as English boys wore. One reported, "I sent to the Old Country and my folks and my uncle sent me lots of lovely clothes."[51] Others taught the girls how to knit, and begged, borrowed or unpicked wool for mitts, socks and sweaters. Like other rural teachers, Maple Leaf teachers also stressed health and hygiene at school, seeking to eliminate lice and improve cleanliness. One explained for British readers the improvements she had made:

> One needs to be prepared to teach hygiene very thoroughly in such a school. Within a month of my being there I learned that the majority of the children looked upon a bath as a half-yearly performance, and one little boy told me he "always bathed every year before the Christmas party at school." I set about to remedy these misunderstandings; paid strict attention to cuts, sores, teeth, hair, etc. (often turning the school into a barber's shop and bobbing hair for an hour after school hours).[52]

Teachers who reported to London showed a commitment to the religious aims of the FML. Through religious education and youth organization, they hoped to give the children a Christian foundation for life. In certain Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic districts, Maple Leaf teachers could do no more than introduce religion indirectly into the schools, and try to instill Christian principles in everyday life.[53] In some districts, including some mixed and Catholic districts, they established successful Sunday schools. The problems of organizing activities outside school hours were sometimes overcome by holding Sunday school on Friday. As a teacher in a mixed English and Ukrainian district explained:

> I couldn't ask them to come back another day so Friday afternoons I took Sunday School with them and they were very pleased to have it and the parents were too, although the trustees said to me, "You'll get those old Ukrainian priests after you."[54]

A few FML teachers also provided enthusiastic leadership in the Guide movement in Saskatchewan, attending the first Guide camps in the province, and using Guides and Scouts to reinforce moral and social values at school. As one of the most active teachers reported:

> We are doing Scouts, Girl Guides and Wolf Cubs and the children love it. The whistle has superseded the bell, the Scout Law replaces school rules, and the Court of Honours is an excellent substitute for the strap.[55]

The Guiding and Scouting movement grew in popularity in the 1920s, but most of the teachers continued to concentrate on Sunday schools as the main youth organization for shaping character and building a Christian society.

The success of Maple Leaf teachers depended on the community response as well as their own efforts. In spite of the FML's aim to promote empire ties, one teacher recalled that she had been advised "not to push the English side of things" because the English were not popular on the prairies.[56] Those teaching among British immigrants generally received a warm welcome. In a district where most settlers were descendants of Barr colonists, one teacher happily remained in her first school until she married three years later.[57] Similarly, another teacher greatly enjoyed the three years which she spent in Canada teaching at Lipton in the Qu'Appelle Valley.[58] Others who went to districts with American, Canadian or continental European settlers were not always so fortunate. Doris England left her first school after six weeks because, as she explained, "one family did not like me being English and I was very English."[59] Another teacher had a difficult time because of ethnic and religious conflict in her district:

> This school district, like the previous one, was also divided into two factions, Canadian Methodists versus English Church people. The former party learned that the Board had hired an English teacher. Two or three families made it their business to make things unpleasant. They openly said they would make it "too hot for her to stay." The innocent victim arrived and all unwittingly proposed teaching Sunday School. The Methodists already had one and refused to allow their children to join the Anglican class. Bitter feelings ran riot; the children took part in their parents' quarrels in spite of all my efforts to hold the peace. In a small but very real way one witnessed the age-long quarrel of national and religious differences. I cannot describe the difficulties and painful experiences of the next six months, at the end of which time I left to return to Normal School.[60]

In this case, the equation of Anglican with English obviously exacerbated the clash with Methodists who identified themselves as Canadian. Since rural schools constantly needed teachers to replace those who married or moved, FML teachers usually did not remain long in districts where they met opposition or conflict.

Canadian resentment of teachers imported from England increased during the 1920s. By 1922, the shortage of teachers in western Canada was turning into a surplus. Soon English teachers ceased to be welcome. In the spring of 1922, the Saskatchewan minister of Education advised the FML that the department could no longer guarantee positions to qualified teachers from England as, for the first time in many years, there were sufficient qualified teachers for the schools of the province.[61] The Canadian Teachers' Federation expressed growing opposition to the admission of British teachers by pressuring governments to protect employment for Canadians.[62] The FML determined to continue with its work in spite of the "Trade Union spirit among teachers who fail to see the larger question of nationality and Christianity," but the Saskatchewan government was more responsive to political pressure.[63] In 1927, as conditions worsened, the FML was restricted to twelve Normal School places for which its candidates had to apply after they were resident in Saskatchewan.[64] After 1930, with the onset of the Depression, the FML ceased to send teachers to Canada and turned instead to sponsoring medical and church workers.

The FML enabled over four hundred British teachers to find positions in western Canada during the 1920s. In directing its assistance solely to professionals, the Fellowship differed from most other church and secular emigration agencies of the period. The FML thus brought to Canada a group of educated British women and men who otherwise might never have considered emigrating or had the connections to make suitable arrangements. Although the number permitted to come was more modest than they had wished, the FML did forge an important personal link in the chain of empire. The subsequent success of Maple Leaf teachers in conveying the British Christian message to others varied greatly, depending not only on the teacher's own personality and resources but also on the receptiveness of the local community. Because the FML regarded Canada as a part of greater Britain, its political aims met increasing resistance with the growing nationalism and self-sufficiency of Canada in the 1920s. The FML showed its vitality by transferring its activities to more acceptable medical, church, and welfare work during the Depression, but modified its ideal for the development of a British Christian Canada more gradually.

NOTES

1. Anglican Church General Synod Archives (ACGSA), Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Papers (FML), *Magazine of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf* (hereafter *Magazine*) (March/April 1917): 5.
2. H.J. Morgan, *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (1898; Toronto: Briggs, 1912), 660; O.R. Rowley, *The Anglican Episcopate of Canada and Newfoundland* (Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1928), 192.
3. *Census of Canada 1911*, vol. 2, 2-3.
4. Saskatchewan Archives Board, (SAB), Emmanuel College Records, files 34-5; The British Library, London, *The Annual Report of the Colonial and Continental Church Society*, 1906-17; Trevor Powell, "The Church of England in the Dioceses of Qu'Appelle and Saskatchewan: Their Establishment, Expansion and Response to Immigration, 1874-1914" (M.A. thesis, University of Regina, 1981).
5. SAB, Emmanuel College Records, file 35, Lloyd to Carpenter, 23 May 1916.
6. ACGSA, FML, *Magazine* (March/April 1917): 20-21.
7. Ibid. (March/April 1917): 18-21; ibid. (July 1917): 4-6.
8. Ibid., Minutes, February 1921, December 1921.
9. Ibid., *Magazine* (July 1917): 5. One of Lloyd's sons was killed in front-line action and another died later of war injuries.
10. *Canadian Churchman* (6 August 1914).
11. Ibid., 23, 30 July; 6, 13, 20, 27 August; 3 September 1914.
12. ACGSA, FML, *The Future of Western Canada* (n.d.), 7.
13. Ibid., *Magazine* (July/August 1918): 10.
14. Ibid., *The Future of Western Canada* (n.d.), 13.
15. Ibid.
16. G.A. Kuhring, ed., *The Church and the Newcomer* (Toronto: The Church House, 1924), 105-23.
17. F.H.E. Hasell, *Across the Prairies in a Motor Caravan* (London: SPCK, 1922), 25-26. See also Vera Fast, *Missionary on Wheels: Eva Hasell and the Sunday School Caravan Mission* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1979), for an account of Eva Hasell and the Sunday school caravan missions.
18. ACGSA, FML, *The Future of Western Canada* (n.d.), front page.
19. SAB, Department of Education Records, file 101, FML, Lloyd to Department of Education, 15 February 1918.
20. Wilhemine E. Ware to author, 27 August 1978.
21. SAB, Department of Education Records, file 101, FML.
22. ACGSA, FML, Register of Sailings, 1918-65. Information on age, qualifications and location of FML teachers is derived from work in progress with the Teacher Records of the Saskatchewan Department of Education.
23. SAB, Emmanuel College Records, file 34, Rev. J.D. Mullins, secretary, Colonial and Continental Church Society, to Lloyd, 16 April 1914.
24. Interview with Eva Bond, Saskatoon, 12 November 1983; SAS, Tape, Eva Bond, interviewed by John Henderson, 24 August 1977.
25. Interview with Grace Christie, Saskatoon, 24 May 1979.
26. Interview with Adeline Fraser, Victoria, 30 May 1983.

27. Interview with Doris England, Saskatoon, 11 November 1983.
28. *Canadian Churchman*, 6 August 1914.
29. ACGSA, FML, *Magazine* (May 1918): 7.
30. Ibid. (July 1917): 13.
31. Ibid.
32. The location of FML teachers was traced using Teacher Records, Saskatchewan Department of Education.
33. Interview with Grace Christie.
34. SAB, Zonta Club of Regina, Canada Week Essay Contest Records, Doris M. Perry, "Memories of an English School Teacher."
35. ACGSA, FML, *Magazine* (September/October 1929): 16-17
36. Ibid. (May/June 1917): 7.
37. Interview with Grace Christie.
38. Ibid.
39. Interview with Eva Bond; SAS, Tape, Eva Bond.
40. ACGSA, FML, *Magazine* (December/January 1927-28): 12-13.
41. Ibid., Minutes, March 1923, report of Dr. Andrews's recent visit to Canada; see also Minutes of April 1924, November 1924.
42. ACGSA, FML, *Magazine* (May/June 1927): 8.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid. (April/May 1928): 17.
45. Ibid. (January/February 1929): 20.
46. Ibid. (September/October 1928): 8.
47. SAB, Saskatchewan School District Reports.
48. ACGSA, FML, *Magazine* (November/December 1928): 14.
49. Ibid.
50. Interview with Grace Christie.
51. Ibid.
52. ACGSA, FML, *Magazine* (December /January 1927-28): 13-14.
53. Ibid. (September/October 1928): 9.
54. Interview with Grace Christie.
55. SAB, W.M. Martin Papers, file I, 56, Education, New Canadians, Mary Cameron to Dr. Anderson, 29 April 1921. See also ACGSA, FML, *Magazine* (November/December, 1926): 15-18; Girl Guide of Canada Records, Toronto, "Girl Guiding in Saskatchewan" shows that Miss Bashford, who came from England to take charge of the Anglican Teachers' Hostel in Saskatoon, was an active Guide leader.
56. Interview with Adeline Fraser.
57. Ibid.
58. Interview with M. Crossley, Haywards Heath, England, 16 September 1983.
59. Interview with Doris England.
60. ACGSA, FML, *Magazine* (December/January, 1927-28): 13.
61. Ibid., Minutes, 28 April 1922; SAB, Department of Education Records, file 101, deputy minister to Andrews, 10 April 1922.
62. Ibid., Minutes, September 1925.
63. Ibid., 23 July 1926.
64. SAB, Department of Education Records, file 101, registrar to Adcock, 8 July 1927.

Eva Hasell and the Caravan Mission

16

Vera K. Fast

The Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada was formed in 1902 to "supersede, incorporate or co-operate with" all existing missionary societies and agencies within the Anglican church in Canada. It was soon apparent, however, that the society would be unable to meet the urgent needs of the Canadian west. Bishop J.A. Newnham summarized the problems when he addressed the synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan in 1905: "Churches closed, missions vacant, the support of your clergy promised by the people, yet withheld; congregations far smaller than they should be. . . no wonder if the Church has gone backward instead of forwards."[1] In desperation, the bishop of Calgary appealed to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, who responded by launching the Archbishops' Western Canada Fund (AWCF) in 1910.[2]

Shortly thereafter, at St. Christopher's College, Blackheath, England, Aylmer Bosanquet and Nona Clarke applied for Sunday school work with the AWCF. They proposed to live somewhere on the prairies, funding their own work. Although the secretary, Canon Beal, was dubious about two "gently nurtured" young women facing the hardships of pioneer mission work, their persistence triumphed, and in 1915 Bosanquet and Clarke began their mission at Kenaston, Saskatchewan. It was Aylmer Bosanquet who awakened in Eva Hasell an awareness of the urgent need for the church in remote, rural areas of the Canadian west. Frances Hatton Eva Hasell was born in 1886 at Dalemain, Penrith, Cumberland, into a wealthy landed family whose genealogy can be traced to the fourteenth century. The family travelled extensively — India, Persia, Italy, France, and of course, Ireland, where Mrs. Hasell's estates were located. They were also an intensely religious household.

It is not surprising then, that when the archbishops made their appeal for funds, Eva volunteered immediately to canvass for the AWCF. This interest, and the request from the Diocese of Carlisle to become a Sunday school organizer, led her to enroll at St. Christopher's College in 1914. It was here that she met Aylmer Bosanquet and Nona Clarke, who were soon to leave for their work in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle.

In Saskatchewan, Bosanquet gave much thought to the enormity of the task of working among the children of the west. It occurred to her that horse-drawn caravans could be used to visit the isolated homesteads, eliminating the need for a nightly return home, and that trained Sunday school teachers could work with the children and also instruct other teachers to carry on after the caravaners left the area. When Bosanquet returned to England she discussed the matter at length with Eva Hasell. Hasell fairly bubbled with enthusiasm. She insisted, however, that a motor caravan and not a horse-drawn van would be more practical, and that she, herself, would drive it. Hasell not only had extensive driving experience, having obtained her license in 1914, but after her wartime service she was knowledgeable about motor repairs. Within six months Hasell and another graduate of St. Christopher's, Winifred Ticehurst, were on their way to Canada, having ordered a van built to specifications by the Ford Motor Company.

The Ford vans which Hasell chose for the caravan mission were usually painted blue-grey, with the name of the diocese lettered on the sides of the van. They were equipped with a portable burner, two folding-down beds, mattresses, pillows, blankets, pots and pans — in short, everything necessary for a spartan existence. In early years there was a strict rule about cooking only outside the van because of the fire hazard, but later vans were equipped with Coleman stoves and an asbestos lining, which made life in cold or rainy weather immeasurably more comfortable. Before putting the vehicles away for the winter, the vanners cleaned them thoroughly and reported to Hasell any breakages or needed repairs.

Hasell's policy in regard to vans was quite specific. She would purchase the vehicle, and after operating it personally for a summer (in most cases), donate it to the bishop of the diocese under certain conditions. She never quite relinquished her hold on a van. Not all bishops were unequivocally enthusiastic about these arrangements. Bishop R.J. Renison of Athabasca wrote quite bluntly that "the details are too specific and the nature of the work too minute and inelastic. . ."[3] The number of vans in service peaked from 1955 to 1959, when thirty-one vehicles were operating in fifteen dioceses across Canada. Thereafter vanning began to decline.

The summer of 1920 proved busy for the vanners — visiting homes, starting Sunday schools, giving Bible lessons, addressing parents and teachers and enrolling children in the "Sunday School by Post," a sort of correspondence Sunday school. The object of their work, in Hasell's words, was "to make God and His world more wonderful." At the conclusion of the tour, Hasell donated the van to the Diocese of Qu'Appelle with the understanding that it would be used each summer for similar work. She then returned to England to raise funds and personnel for other vans.

Although vans were basic to Miss Hasell's organization, the women who operated them were the heart and soul of its success. And vanners were invariably women. While Hasell was cooperating with the General Board of Religious Education (GBRE), applications from two men were considered. The motion was passed that clergymen as well as women should in future be accepted, but the committee had reckoned without Hasell. She was, of course, unable to attend winter meetings, and when informed of the recommendation, she dismissed it out of hand. The two hopeful male applicants were referred to another project and the vans continued on their feminine way. Hasell insisted, "The van work was started by women for women."[4] There seems to be no known reason for her inflexible attitude in this matter, although it is possible that, in a male-dominated society, she feared eventual loss of control if men were allowed into the organization.

Not only were the vanners invariably women; they were also largely British, especially before World War II. In 1930 twenty-one of the twenty-eight were British. When queried as to the lack of Canadians, Hasell's only recorded comment is a laconic, "I take Canadians when I can."

The women who volunteered for vanning were a varied lot. Usually financially able to pay their own way, especially in the early years, many had been recruited at girls' boarding schools or from among Hasell's friends. Her roster of recruits was impressive: Lady Jean McDonnell, the cousin of Lady Halifax, Lady Willingdon's niece and so on. Many others were simply dedicated Anglicans from all walks of life, although Hasell specifically mentioned several, including a "Miss M'Gonigle who has taken her MA degree and is teaching five languages at Branksome Hall in Toronto;" Sylvia Grove, "champion woman skier of McGill University;"[5] and, "a North American Indian" whom she does not name.

The year 1926 marked the beginning of Hasell's association with Iris Sayle, an association which grew into a lifelong partnership and a deeply devoted friendship.[6] They shared van work for forty-six years, arriving in Canada about April and returning to Britain in time for Christmas each year.

Hasell financed her work in various ways. Both she and her sister, Dorothy, were generous with their own money and up to 1923, carried the expenses of the caravans personally and with the aid of friends. In 1923, the Dominion Board of the Women's Auxiliary began making grants and soon thereafter the GBRE appealed for voluntary contributions from the church at large. These were received in generally small donations, such as the $35.50 given by nine Native women who sold cakes, bread and needlework to raise the money.

Hasell's primary concern was the religious education of children in isolated areas, although contact with women was of equal importance. The vanners held classes in homes, churches, or in the country school house. Permission for use was obtained from the local trustees, and classes were conducted after school hours. William A. Plenderleith, an inspector in British Columbia, describes these rural schools in some detail:

> They were of the crudest possible structure, consisting of four bare walls with no ceiling. . . in most cases it was impossible to open the windows. The blackboards were usually of painted beaver-boards, or in some instances, just plain tarpaper. . . No screen doors or windows were provided so it was customary during the mosquito season to be unable to see across the class-room because of the smoke from the smudge that was used to keep out the mosquitoes. Toilet facilities were of the worst imaginable kind. . . No toilet paper was supplied, and it was usual to find in place of this, a Simpson's or Eaton's catalogue.[7]

Into this rough setting Hasell brought material and methods considered well in advance of her time when she first began her work. Each van carried

> an almost complete set of Nelson's Bible wall pictures and a set of Copping's,[8] a few models of eastern homes, etc., books on teaching methods and lesson courses and material for expression work, i.e., notebooks and pencils for senior classes, coloured chalks, plasticine, etc. for the others.[9]

She wrote, "We have dramatization, Bible jigsaws, hymns and songs which the children act. They are very keen on our gramaphone; we not only have hymns but nursery rhymes and all kinds of records."[10]

Sometimes the vanners held "lantern services" on the life of Christ, with the van battery providing the power to run the projector. Hasell and Sayle received special episcopal permission to take services, as did most vanners. The services were usually shortened matins or evensong, with the two women dividing responsibilities. Hasell always sang in a loud soprano voice and participated in all aspects of the service, if not with polish at least with gusto. She was known as a good preacher although the descriptions she gives of her homilies do not reflect her innate warmth and ability to communicate.

While the education of children was of prime importance to Hasell, she also supplied material aid where necessary. To Eriksdale, Manitoba, in 1936 she sent 153 sacks of potatoes and other root vegetables. Sometimes she brought a bale of sheep's wool to make quilts or gave $50 to a farmer to raise a heifer into a milk cow for a poor family. As William Fortman summarizes, "Money was found to get medical help for sick and crippled children; those needing special schooling — the deaf, blind, retarded or brilliant found arrangements made for them; wheelchairs were found for invalids who had been house-ridden for years."[11] Even the Queen Mother donated clothing regularly to Hasell's work and in 1940 sent enough clothing for one hundred families.

Hasell and her vanners were especially conscious of the burdens isolation imposed on women with families, who might have no neighbours within fifteen or more miles and who could never leave their homesteads for a variety of reasons. Suicide was not uncommon. With social services still in their infancy when Hasell began her work, she and the vanners did what they could to meet these many and varied needs. Such exigencies provided wide scope for activities admirably suited to Hasell's personality. While she was certainly compassionate and generous, she was just as certainly autocratic and self-willed. She has been called "an extremely dominating person who could (and did) put and keep anyone in their place who got in her way (bishops included)."[12] Some bishops, in fact, were said to fear Miss Hasell, and sought to avoid her. This is true also of government officials, from whom she demanded schools, land for churches, medical aid, tires during wartime, and so on. And if help was not forthcoming, she contacted those in the highest positions, be it a provincial cabinet minister or the governor general.

One trait shared by both Sayle and Hasell was a sense of humour, an ability to laugh heartily at oneself, to make light of hardship, to banter and not retreat in the face of hostility. In short, as one vanner remembered, they possessed a humour "of the sort that helps you combat a difficult situation."[13] So Hasell reported with great delight the story of the little girl whose mother was unable to attend a caravan service, but asked the child to remember the scripture text. It was duly reported as, "Don't worry, you will get the blanket." The puzzled mother finally asked a neighbour, who remembered that it was, "Fear not, I will send you the Holy Spirit, the Comforter." One youngster's version of the Fifth Commandment was, "Honour thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long and thy nights short." Hasell also enjoyed the lady in Ontario who was sure the Alaska Highway let in a cold draught from the Arctic. Even her style of writing portrays her love of the whimsical, as when she describes a particularly muddy hike ending with "a homestead on one foot and a quarter section on the other."[14]

It may be that Hasell's appreciation of humour led her to exaggerate a story in order to utilize it to best advantage, for exaggerate she certainly did. The most sensational example of this concerns "Bolshevik Sunday Schools." The *Occasional Paper* (Spring 1930) carried the following article date lined London, 7 March:

> There are 1,700 Bolshevik Sunday Schools in Canada and Bolshevist organization among the children of the Dominion is "far better" than the Christian; Miss Eva Hasell. . . declared she had this information from an "authoritative source."

The story was picked up by both the Canadian and British press. One paper commented:

> Leading churchmen queried respecting Miss Hasell's statement, admitted there might be a number of Sunday Schools in the country in which "Radical" beliefs were taught. But the influence of these schools was insignificant and far from the number indicated. . .

Finally, Archbishop Cosmo Lang of Canterbury sent a rather stiff letter to Hasell, saying among other things,

> An immense number of protests have been received here against the statistics quoted by you about Bolshevik Sunday Schools in Canada, and are coming from the highest possible authority there, as well as the Chief of Police. They say that your figures are ludicrously wrong.

Hasell offered to retract. The next letter from Lambeth Palace read,

> His Grace in no way presses you to send a denial to the papers such as you have drafted but will leave the matter entirely to your judgment.

There is no evidence that Hasell ever published her retraction.[15]

By 1948, Hasell had begun to see her work as a crusade against subversive forces, both political and spiritual. She was convinced that her mandate was, in the slogan of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf, "To Keep Canada British and Christian." Repeatedly in her *Reports* she makes remarks such as "All this points to the great need of our work from the Imperial as well as the religious standpoint." Or, it "made us realize how important our work was, not only to the Church but the Nation."

Hasell feared the influence "foreign" children might exert on those of British extraction. She worried about "their low moral standard" and declared that where these youngsters were going to school with British children, they were, "owing to their home training, teaching them to steal and lie."[16] To counter such behaviour, she strove mightily to inculcate "British standards" in immigrant children, not only with her Sunday school but by the distribution of tracts, books, pictures and all other possible means. She writes, "In saying, goodbye I call attention to the cross in the Union Jack which is always outside or hanging inside the school, telling the children that as they look at it each day they will be reminded of the love of Christ."[17] All that seemed of most importance to her is patently equated here with the empire and its symbols.

Feeling as she did, it is small wonder that Hasell distrusted not only foreigners, which included Americans, but most religious denominations, for "British and Christian" meant "British and Anglican." Quite understandably, therefore, she harboured a deep suspicion of the United Church of Canada after its formation in 1925, and of the Roman Catholics. Her dislike for all sectarianism was equalled only by her abhorrence of communism. Observations such as: "howling dervishes calling themselves Nazarenes" or "a family of Russian Mennonites — very strange," were not at all uncommon. But the Pentecostals, invariably named "Holy Rollers," called forth her special reprobation. She maintained that "A number get religious mania and go mad."[18] Yet, while Hasell disliked Pentecostals and Mormons, whose churches she frequently called synagogues, she never accused them of disloyalty or subversion. The same cannot be said for the Jehovah's Witnesses or International Bible Students. In 1926 she described them as "as a mixture of Communist and the most outlandish views on the Bible," while Sayle records: "We had a tremendous argument yesterday with a man who is. . . an International Bible Student. . . He must have been a Communist too. . ."[19] However, loyal churchwoman though Hasell was, she had her difficulties not only with other denominations and sects, but also with her own church, and especially with the GBRE.

In 1925 it was decided that a joint van committee be established to coordinate van work in Canada, with Dr. R.A. Hiltz, general secretary of the GBRE chairing.[20] There were problems from the very first. Considerable time and effort had been expended to work out arrangements for financing and staffing the vans (the two major points of difference), when Hasell abruptly announced that she would not work with the committee. In exasperation, Bishop George Exton Lloyd wrote to her, "some of the expressions of the

Bishops were pretty stringent as to the impossibility of any body working with you for very long."[21]

When Archbishop Owen, some years later, thought to revive the committee, Hasell answered brusquely: "I want to make quite clear that I *cannot* meet with any committee in connection with van work. . ." and again, "I *cannot* work with. . . Dr. Hiltz. . . so it is no use talking things over with them. . . I know it will ruin the van work to have a committee and I *cannot* agree to work with one."[22] Naturally the archbishop was interested in knowing the whole story and contacted Dr. Hiltz. After hearing his response, the archbishop made no further attempt to contain Miss Hasell in any way. It was not until 1973 when she relinquished control that the Canadian church moved to exercise anything but diocesan authority over the caravan mission.

Hasell's jubilee year was marked in 1970. She was 84 years old and still on the vans every summer. Friends suggested this was a propitious time to retire. Iris Sayle, suffering from Parkinson's disease, was far from well; but Hasell was adamant and maintained she would never retire, although indications that she was failing were increasingly evident. Whether it was Iris Sayle's persuasion we may never know, but in January 1973, Hasell finally circulated a letter announcing the appointment of Katrina Alexander and Doreen Savery to head the caravan mission. That inimical duo, Hasell and Sayle, were never to return to Canada, for a few months later, in August 1973, Sayle died in hospital. Hasell survived her by less than a year, dying quietly in her sleep in May 1974, in her eighty-ninth year.

She was honoured in her death by many; even the *Times* of London ran an editorial entitled "A Tribute to Miss Eva Hasell." In 1975 Archbishop Ted Scott, primate of Canada, officiating at the dedication of a memorial to Hasell in St. Andrew's Church, Dacre [Cumberland, England], affirmed the value of her work in Canada and reiterated the intention of the Anglican church to continue it. Archdeacon G.E. Hobson wrote in the same vein to Kay Alexander, confirming the church's desire to maintain the mission "in a manner that meets the present needs in a realistic way and at the same time carries on the vision of Miss Hasell and Miss Sayle."[23] With this predisposition the work was reorganized as a Canadian mission under the name "Western Canada Sunday School Caravan Fund." It continues to the present day.

It is not a simple matter to assess Eva Hasell and her work. Certainly she was a product of her time and class. Yet, while many of her contemporaries engaged in assorted crusades with varying degrees of intensity — prohibition, suffrage, feminism in its various forms, the social gospel, politics[24] — there is no indication that Hasell herself was in any way touched by these. Her calling to missionary work had come to her as a child and she remained single-minded though the world around her roiled and was troubled.

Her views of the gospel and society were simple. She believed deeply that "we shall never have unity and peace in the world without Christianity. We shall have more and more strikes and wars."[25] And again, "Let us begin with the children and youth, teaching right ideas that God loves all His children..." because "the only way to counteract atom bombs is to teach Christianity."[26]

Early in her career she used teaching methods and innovations considered well ahead of her time. However, she seemed to "freeze" her thinking, methods, and attitudes "at the period between the wars, or at the latest, the early 1950s,"[27] so that ever thereafter experience became her shibbolith. If an area needed vans in 1926 it must still need vans in 1966; if vanners were volunteers in 1922 they should still be volunteers in 1972. Nor did experience or age essentially alter Hasell's character. It may well be, however, that a pioneer work as comprehensive and demanding as that of Miss Hasell, requires an autocratic leader in order to succeed. Her need to control may also have been responsible for her sense of being indispensable and her refusal to retire. It was a combination of staying on too long and of refusing to recognize changing circumstances in Canada and in the church.

Having said all this, it is nevertheless true that the church and the settlers to whom she ministered appreciated Hasell tremendously. Many loved her deeply, a love she unashamedly returned. It was quite in order, therefore, that after fifty-three years of sacrificial service she received the first Anglican Doctorate of Divinity degree ever awarded to a woman. A grateful country made her a Member of the British Empire and she was invested with the Medal of Service of the Order of Canada. In the words of the general synod in 1950, she was

> a source of untold blessing and inspiration through personal visitations on endless trails, through Bible instruction and Church teaching. [She] brought together vans, teachers, and drivers and Sunday School by Post secretaries to do a great and demanding task.

The bishop of Kootenay praised her mission as "the greatest work being done for the Church or Empire in Western Canada," and observed that she had "literally put the Church on wheels."[28] Indeed, Hasell personified Princess Alice's portrait of the "indomitable British spinster" — she had something to give, and when she took on a job, like the bulldog, she never let go.

NOTES

1. Quoted in T.C.B. Boon, *The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies: A History of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land and Its Dioceses From 1820 to 1950* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), 290.
2. Eva Hasell, *Across the Prairies in a Motor Caravan* (London: SPCK, 1922), 3, states incorrectly that the archbishop of Rupert's Land made this appeal in 1910. For an excellent account of the AWCF see David John Carter, "The Archbishops' Western Canada Fund and the Railway Mission," *Saskatchewan History* 22 (Winter 1969): 13-28.
3. Letter in Hasell's Dalemain papers. Bishop Renison, 1875-1957, was to become metropolitan of Ontario in 1952.
4. Letter to "Margaret," 10 February 1972, in Dalemain, Hasell's estate in Cumberland, England.

5. *Reports*, 1924, 1941, 1961.
6. For a biographical sketch of Iris Sayle see Vera Fast, *Missionary on Wheels* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1979), 35-37.
7. W.A. Plenderleith, "An Experiment in the Reorganization and the Administration of a Rural Inspectoral Unit in British Columbia" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1937), 49-52.
8. Nelson pictures were coloured Bible story pictures, backed on canvas, with rollers. Copping's were similar. Later Elsie Anna Wood pictures were used, which, according to one former vanner, "were very much better."
9. Eva Hasell, *Through Western Canada in a Caravan*, 2nd ed. (London: SPG, 1927), 18-19.
10. *Report*, 1952, p. 11.
11. W. Portman, *Frontier Odyssey* (n.p.: Program Committee of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, n.d.), 7.
12. Letter to the author from the Reverend William Portman, 12 January 1977.
13. Florence Seager interview with author, 1977.
14. *Reports*, 1937, 1947, 1942.
15. These are from clippings in the Hasell papers at Dalemain, obviously saved by her, but without date or papers' names. The letters also are in the Dalemain papers.
16. Eva Hasell, *Caravaning Through Prairie and Mountain in Canada* (Westminster: SPG Press, 1928), 12.
17. Hasell, *Through Western Canada*, 18-19.
18. Eva Hasell, *Canyons, Cans and Caravans* (London: SPCK, 1930), 107.
19. Dalemain papers, letter dated 2 July 1926.
20. This same Dr. Hiltz, scholar though he was, rather unfortunately entitled one of his publications "How To Hold Our Older Girls."
21. Dalemain papers, letter dated 1 April 1930.
22. Dalemain papers, letter dated 7 November 1940.
23. Letter to K. Alexander, dated 18 November 1974.
24. Hasell's sister Dorothy was active in the British Conservative Party, and Hasell must surely have been aware of the League of the Church Militant (Anglican) which in the 1920s actively promoted "equality of men and women in the sight of men as in the sight of God" and sought "to safeguard the position of women serving the Church. . ." (Advertisement, *The Year Book of the Church of England in Canada*, 1923, p. 31.)
25. *Report*, 1965, p. 3.
26. *Report*, 1944, p. 19; *Report*, 1953, p. 31.
27. A view expressed by the Reverend W. Portman in a letter to the author, 12 January 1977. Others, however, such as Mrs. Clifford Bell, disagreed and felt she was not adverse to change (letter to the author, 8 January 1978).
28. Quoted in Hasell, *Canyons*, 113.

17

The Bishop's Messengers: Women in Ministry in Northwestern Manitoba, 1928-1979

Alyson Barnett-Cowan

While, to some, it appears as though women have just appeared on the scene in church leadership in the last ten to fifteen years, women's ministry has of course been rooted in the Anglican Church of Canada for many generations. For years, committed women, usually English, usually single, had offered themselves single-mindedly to mission and pastoral work, under conditions that most of us today would complain about bitterly to our bishops. They worked on the frontiers and opened up the west and the north to the Christian faith and to Anglicanism in particular. There is a direct link between those women and the ordination of women to the priesthood. They were the forerunners of the rich ministry that was to be recognized by episcopal blessing beginning in 1971 (for deacons) and 1976 (for priests). In the Diocese of Brandon, the first women ordained were in fact among the last of the bishop's messengers.

"Why's Miss Hill going to be ordained — I thought she was already ordained," was a typical comment by a parishioner of one of these deacons.[1] For the messengers had been the pastors, evangelists, educators, social workers and administrators of church life in northwestern Manitoba since 1929. The only difference after ordination to the priesthood was the ability to consecrate the elements of the Eucharist themselves, instead of receiving it only at the rare times when the "travelling priest" visited. They could now offer the absolution of the church, instead of an assurance, at the time of confession and counselling. Ordination, of course, also signified total acceptance by the church's hierarchy of people who had already won the respect and loyalty of many Christians.

Marguerita Fowler, founder of the bishop's messengers of Brandon, paid a visit to friends in Winnipeg in the mid-1920s. They shared with her how they had missed the ministrations of their church when they had lived in northern Manitoba. At 43, Fowler had been looking for a challenge in mission after the death of her parents. She consulted with Canon Stacy Waddy of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) as to how she might prepare herself for mission work in Canada, and on his advice began studies at St. Christopher's House in Blackheath, London. This was a theological school for women which was oriented to preparation for educational work, but included rigorous biblical and theological training over a two-year period.

There existed already in some dioceses in England organizations of women known as "bishop's messengers" who were engaged in mission and service work under the orders of diocesan bishops. They were "groups of women in England who had taken part in the Mission of Repentence and Hope during the first World War, [and] had been formed into groups of Bishops's Messengers to do evangelistic work in rural districts."[2] Many of these women, who had clearly filled in while male clergy were serving in the armed forces, and whose services continued to be needed in the light of extensive casualties, were graduates of St. Christopher's. Another such graduate was Eva Hasell, formidable founder of the caravan mission in western Canada who is already well-known through Vera Fast's work.[3] She visited the college in 1927, met Fowler, and put her in touch with Bishop Thomas of Brandon. Thomas was enthusiastic about the possibility of establishing an English order in the most remote part of his diocese. It would be called the Order of St. Faith's, named for the faith with which it was started.[4]

Fowler chose as a travelling companion twenty-year-old Muriel Secretan, who volunteered to "come out and help. . . for a couple of years."[5] Perhaps St. Christopher's encouraged women to travel in pairs, for the same pattern was adopted by the vanners — two women travelled together, of whom one was theologically trained and the other gifted to do more physical labour. Fowler later recalled, "I had chosen her [Muriel] because she could ride a horse milk a cow understand chickens as well as cook rather badly and drive a car [*sic*]."[6] Fowler alone was commissioned at the cathedral in Brandon in June 1928; Secretan was only made an "associate" member of the fledgling order, since she did not have a theological education.

The license Fowler received from Bishop Thomas was very broad for someone not ordained: it included "the taking of services, visiting and administering comfort to the isolated and sick" and "in the absence of a priest or deacon to baptize children in danger of death and to bury the dead."[7] It was, in fact, similar to the license for a deacon. The messengers began their work in a house in Swan River, where they were under the jurisdiction, not of the new rector, but of the bishop directly. The rector served as their chaplain.[8] Throughout their history, the women were dependent on travelling priests to celebrate the Eucharist for them and their communities, but apart from this function considered so essential by high church Anglican women, they scarcely needed male assistants. The minutes and correspondence nowhere reflect that they felt any lack of competence to be pastors in the situations they encountered.

The women did encounter some opposition because they were "lady preachers,"[9] but for the most part it was recognized that they were doing work which no men were available or willing to do. They also encountered opposition from Anglicans in Canada who found their English ways too "high church" — they dared to put a cross and candles on the altar in territory which was populated by a much more Protestant stock.[10]

The messengers were concerned with the same kind of people and conditions as was the caravan mission, but their approach was different. Hasell concentrated on evangelizing and educating children; because of her concern for them she visited their families, and because she was there when no one else was, she conducted services. The messengers intended to form missions, but they often found it easiest to begin with the children. The vanners, by their very name, were travellers; the messengers travelled, but they stayed put for long periods of time in the isolated places they found. In a sense, the messengers were not, from the beginning, doing what would be characterized as "women's work"; they were the logical heirs of the early missionaries in the west and north.

Vanners did assist the messengers with the "Sunday school by post" and vacation Bible schools, but Fowler maintained her own separate establishment and style, much to Hasell's chagrin — she would have preferred to have recruited the women for her own organization.[11] But Fowler wanted "to work in one place where she could see the fruits of her labours."[12] She was also a leader in her own right, and no doubt Hasell's autocratic style would have prevented them from working well together.

Although the bishop's messengers operated under a "rule of life" under the jurisdiction of a bishop, they seem not to have thought of themselves as a religious order in the classical sense. They took vows of obedience and of regular prayer, yet they seem never to have been as concerned for themselves and their place in the church as they were with their outreach to the areas they served. Their primary commitment, as one reads about it in their own contributions to their fiftieth anniversary book,[13] was to the parishes they served and to the people among whom they lived. St. Faith's house (first in Swan River, later in The Pas) provided the place of spiritual refreshment and exchange of ideas, but was not itself, perhaps, the focus of the women's lives.

The constitution and "rule of life" were derived from one used by "The Company of Women Messengers" of the English Diocese of Derby.[14] The constitution provided for a superior (known as the senior messenger)[15] who was chosen by the community. At first, the position was of course held by Fowler, and she retained it until 1949. At that point the constitution was amended to allow for the election of the senior messenger for a three year term, with reelection possible. Members had to have acceptable theological education, "be regular communicants of the Anglican Church, have a personal commitment to Our Lord Jesus Christ," be at least twenty-three years old and in good health.[16] The constitution could be, and frequently was, amended at the messengers' conferences which were normally held annually and chaired by the bishop or senior clergyman.[17]

On admission to the order (after a probationary period), the messenger professed the Christian faith, promised obedience to the constitution and "rule of life," and loyalty to the bishop and senior messenger.[18] She then was entitled to wear the uniform of the order, a blue dress with a white cross on the front, and a simple blue veil (the details of dress were changed from time to time).[19]

The rule included regular daily prayer and meditation, intercession and

Scripture reading; attendance at offices when in the house; regular reception of communion (when possible); participation in an annual retreat; and sharing in the domestic work of the house. Striving to live in simplicity and systematic almsgiving were required rather then "poverty." No vows of chastity were taken, but in the early days it seems to have been assumed that the women would not marry. (Their archives do contain an interesting letter from a young curate about to take up a parish in the north who thought that the order might supply him with a suitable wife.[20] There is no copy of a reply). Later, at least three messengers were married after joining, and they retained their membership in the order.

By the fall of 1929 there were five women who shared the small house: Fowler, Secretan, and "Margaret Robertson, trained at St. Andrew's House, Portsmouth, Muriel Williamson, and Muriel Hooper, both from St. Christopher's College."[21] By the time of dissolution there had been fifty-six licensed messengers, but there were many other women who lived with them from time to time. Like Muriel Secretan who came to Canada as a housekeeper, and never became a member of the order, there was a sizable number of volunteer "associates" or "friends" or "fellow workers" who assisted the work in areas not deemed to require theological education. Those who trained to be messengers usually studied in England or at the Toronto "Deaconess House" (later the Anglican Women's Training College). In 1977, just before dissolution, men were admitted to the order — they were all clergy.[22]

The order had regular representation at the diocesan synod. The minutes of a 1937 messengers' conference name the secretary of the "Sunday school by post" as an *ex officio* member of synod, and provided for the election of five messengers to it.[23] This status indicated the authority of their work, although at this point the messengers were members of synod because they were members of a religious order within the diocese, and not because they were incumbents of parishes or missions. Nevertheless, their recognition as members of synod in their own right gave them a distinction which women messengers in England had not obtained.

In an article published in a magazine of the SPG, Fowler set out the intention of the mission:

> The religion which is its inspiration transforms the whole life and admits of no arbitrary division in "sacred" and "secular." They come as friends and helpers, with a ready sympathy which is born of respect and admiration for the settlers who are facing and overcoming difficulties with such fine courage.[24]

From Swan River, the messengers travelled by sleigh or car or horse or foot to the surrounding farming communities, leading worship and Sunday school, and visiting the lonely homesteads. "How much the farmers' wives looked forward to seeing us during the long Winter months, when perhaps they had not spoken to another woman for months on end," one messenger recalled.[25] From the district, people came to the house: visitors dropping by, pregnant women from a distance waiting safely near a hospital for the birth of their babies, women convalescing from operations before attempting the rough roads, women seeking shelter from violent husbands.

The first outpost mission was Mafeking, sixty miles north of Swan River on the railway, where services were held in the local hotel. The right attitude for worship was a little difficult to attain there so they soon moved to the school house until a church was built. A second venture was begun in Birch River, thirty miles north, at what was then the end of the highway. Fowler and Secretan began by camping and running a vacation school in the summer of 1929. By the spring they had rented a cottage and turned the back rooms into a chapel. When the mission was firmly established, a messenger-in-charge was named to run it, with an associate's help.

The messengers were particularly keen on establishing parish churches in the missions. They encouraged local people to build small churches for themselves, initially providing seed money from England, and supervising the work. Some even helped put the shingles on the roof. Furnishings were carved and sewn in the communities as well. Attempts were made to make the churches like little English parish churches — even when people met for service in a home, jam jars were filled with flowers for altar vases.[26] By 1949 six northern churches, including those at Birch River, Mafeking, Cormorant, and Wabowden had been built with the help of the messengers.[27]

Although most of the work done by the messengers was in the Diocese of Brandon, two other dioceses were served with single missions — Eriksdale in Rupert's Land and Pelly in Qu'Appelle. As was the pattern with the other missions, two messengers worked together to build a church and mission house, and to travel the terrible roads. The annual report from Pelly for 1934 gives a picture of the extent of the work:

> The Messengers have visited over one hundred and fifty families, covering eighteen school districts; taught in three different Day Schools; giving daily teaching in one school for a week, and held twenty one Services and Sunday Schools. The northern part of the parish of Pelly in which they have been working, is roughly some four hundred and twenty square miles.[28]

All the reports detail the dreadful conditions of travel by car, truck, jeep, sleigh, dogteam, horse and foot.

Services were led by the messengers, although some had lay readers to assist. Every six months or so the travelling priest would come for communion. Once a year, or every other year, the bishop would arrive for confirmation, and the visit would be a major event in the life of a community and of its youth. Preparations for baptism and confirmation were a major focus of the messengers' time.

Typically, the work turned out to centre on the children, for their parents were not as open to the gospel as Fowler would have liked. She wrote:

> In those early days Birch River, like many other little Bush towns, was very much cut off from the world and elevating and spiritual influences;

> many people prided themselves on being "hard-boiled," so the work among the older people progressed very slowly.[29]

Accordingly, the children were surrounded with "elevating and spiritual influences." They were organized into fellowships, Brownies, Cubs, Scouts and Guides, little helpers, junior auxiliaries and Sunday schools, not to mention the vacation Bible schools.

The Scout and Guide movement was favoured by the messengers partly because it gave the children a sense of connection with the rest of the world, which they believed was essential to their growth, not only as Christians, but as citizens. While not so overtly missionaries for the British Empire as was Eva Hasell, the messengers shared the vision of Canada as a Christian kingdom made up of good and loyal citizens. Particularly in wartime, publicity for the messengers emphasized their role in "nation-building." One pamphlet circulated about the messengers during the war was entitled "On Guard for the North."[30] Let a German dare get near northern Manitoba when the messengers were there!

Today, women of The Pas Reserve in training for ministry themselves, remember the Anglican grounding they received at St. Faith's when the house moved north: the hymns and musical training and the lessons of the Junior Auxiliary badges in prayer book knowledge. The Junior Auxiliary was modelled on the scouting principles: there were uniforms, rites of passage and badges for memory work, skills and service. The girls learned basic skills considered essential for Christian women: darning, knitting, wrapping parcels, so that they could become part of the great army of the Women's Auxiliary doing mission through bales. One leaflet found listed, among the Native girls' accomplishments, wrapping bales for Native missions (perhaps they were for the other Natives).[31]

One venture which consumed a great deal of time and effort was the "Sunday school by post" — one messenger was assigned the job full-time at Swan River. In 1941, 3,800 children were enrolled in this program in the area served by the messengers.[32] Follow-up work was done in the summer at vacation Bible schools, with the help of Hasell's vanners.

In Cormorant, a mission opened in 1931 by Elsie Marriott and Ena Harrold who were newly arrived from St. Christopher's, even had a "Children's Church" in which children conducted the worship and elected their own officers at a "Church Council."[33] By means of these various organizations the messengers taught the rudiments of church membership as it was then exercised in the Church of England, as well as the principles of political organization, in the sense of enabling people to form small groups for achieving community goals.

Children's organizations were not the primary aim of the church, of course, and "elevating influences" were brought to bear on the adults as well. Preaching missions were attempted from time to time when a priest or missionary could be found to lead it. In these endeavours, the messengers had assistance from the Society of St. John the Evangelist, whose members had a similar kind of ministry in the Diocese of Algoma. In Cormorant, when the church and mission house were finished, the messengers began work on a parish hall, since it was apparent that the only social activity was drinking. The hall's activities were directed by the messengers, and included games such as table tennis and square dances.[34] In Wabowden the messengers were prime movers in organizing box socials and community feasts. No doubt the aim of the messengers was to help to provide alternatives to the heavy drinking and despair so prevalent on the frontier, just as their predecessors encouraged wholesome ways among the villagers of rural England.

In both Cormorant and Wabowden, nursing work became a very important part of the messengers' service. Until there were nursing stations established in these communities, it was the messengers who applied first aid and took people to hospital. Elsie Marriott, one of the first messengers in Cormorant, was a trained nurse.[35]

Northern Manitoba was already a land of immigrants when the messengers arrived. Natives had resettled in the move west with the trade. There were descendants of the French and Scots traders, some integrated with the bands, and some not, made aliens from their relations by the distinctions of the treaties. There had been recent migrations of farmers from south, east, and overseas, along with railway crews and lumbermen. In the mid-1930s, northern Manitoba was being settled again by growing numbers of miners. The new mines swelled social problems, for now, in addition to the loneliness of self-reliant and struggling homesteads, there were whole new communities bursting with money and liquor. Wealth alternated with depression, and the lean years on the prairies, while not so profound in the Swan River valley as elsewhere, nevertheless took their toll on families and individuals. Between the lines of the messengers' stories one reads nostalgia for the earliest days, when the communities in their isolation were kept free of the worst influences of "civilization."

The messengers had come to the north primarily for the sake of the isolated families of English descent. It was only gradually that they consciously extended their missions to Native people and to settlers of other ethnic backgrounds. Several of the early reports comment on someone as "an Indian grannie" or "half-breed."[36] But with the work in Wabowden in particular, the messengers began to understand and address some of the issues of Native people in the region. Wabowden was a new mining town in the 1930s, but the local Native population was not included in the new community. The children who were treaty were not allowed to attend the public school, so one of the messengers began classes in the mission to teach them to read and write. An important issue for the messengers was to try to break down the barriers of suspicion between the two groups. Fowler reported:

> Miss Thompson is really reaping the reward of five years of very difficult uphill work among a very Godless community of white people. Their attitude towards the Indians is changing too, the delightful Christmas

> party they have had the last two years at which the whole Community, white and Indian, mixed happily together is a proof of this.[37]

As the years went by, St. Faith's became more and more involved in Native ministry, partly because the "non-Native" missions found clergy more readily than did the reserves and Métis settlements, and partly because their interest in education naturally led them into work in the Anglican reserve schools. Messengers taught in the day schools in The Pas and in Moose Lake, assisted at the residential school in Dauphin, and served as chaplains in Cranberry Portage Collegiate. They did not, however, become sufficiently part of the communities to learn the Cree language, and they were not encouraged to try.[38]

The messengers tried, however, to be sensitive to cultural issues, encouraging the women and girls to improve their skills in traditional crafts, and expressing regret at the effects of the miners and alcohol on the traditional communities. In this, they were in continuity with previous missionaries who had tried to protect the aboriginals from the exploitation of the newcomers. For services, they relied on Native lay readers to read parts of the service in Cree and to translate their sermons. Messengers served not only in northern Native communities such as The Pas, Moose Lake, Chemawawin and points on the Bay Line, but also at the racially mixed community of Kinosota in the interlake region and on the Sioux Valley Reserve near Brandon.

As for non-English immigrants, there are in the early reports several comments about "foreigners": Swedes and Doukhobors, Ukrainians, and Russians, Greeks and Icelanders, and so on. "One place, Cowan, is a very foreign and bolshie centre," wrote Fowler of a primarily Ukrainian community in 1935.[39] Still, the messengers welcomed response from people of other backgrounds. In Eriksdale, they became popular funeral conductors with the Swedes and Icelanders.[40] Fowler notes of the mission at Pelly, "People of varied nationalities have become very faithful members of the church held in the store."[41]

Ecumenism was not the order of the day in the early days of the mission, as can be seen in the report from Eriksdale, that thanks to three faithful lay readers "we were able to take up and carry on work in Eriksdale which is otherwise a stronghold of the United Church and agnosticism in about equal proportions" (and equally problematic, it would seem).[42] In the later days of the order, however, the messengers changed with the times and many worked ecumenically.

The messengers consciously played a major social welfare role in their communities. They have a consistent record of sheltering battered women, and of supplying food, clothes and other necessities to women and children who were abandoned physically or psychologically. They were involved in low-cost housing projects[43] and group homes for disturbed young people.[44] They worked with the Child Welfare Agency in Winnipeg in connection with child welfare cases.[45] Later, in the 1960s, Kay Hill helped to found a group home for teenage girls in The Pas.

The work of the order was funded at first by the messengers themselves, by contacts they had in their home parishes and others in England, by the SPG, and by the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf. Gradually, support began to come from eastern Canada, and from the missions themselves. A Guild of St. Faith's which prayed for the order and raised funds had branches in several cities. In 1942, with regret, the connection with the SPG was severed, and the Canadian MSCC took over.[46] More and more, the messengers themselves were Canadian, training at the Anglican Women's Training College in Toronto and at Little St. Christopher's College in Victoria.

After the war, conditions changed again in the north. There was more wealth; roads were put through to most communities; telephones, radio, better air service, and finally television, reduced the isolation. As more and more southerners filled the area it was easier to hire clergy, so the work of the messengers shifted to the Native communities.

The growing interest in Native people was expressed in concrete terms in the move of St. Faith's house from Swan River to The Pas in 1958, since the Swan River valley was now stable and prosperous. The years in The Pas were shaped to a great extent by Frances Wilmot, a native Manitoban, who was senior messenger from 1959 until her death in 1970. Wilmot served as diocesan youth worker, thus extending the educational mission throughout the diocese, and her teaching work continued on The Pas Reserve.

But from the mid-1960s the minutes of the messengers' conferences tell a tale of gradual aging of the order, of its inappropriateness for changing times. The Native schools were no longer Anglican, so there was less scope for the educational thrust of the women. More lay readers took responsibility for services. It was hard to recruit new members — the church was undergoing profound changes as well in the 1960s. There was concern as to whether there would be placements for people who undertook training, even if the people could be found, since conditions were radically different.[47] The restlessness of the period affected the messengers themselves. They began to experiment with their rule of life, changing the regulated cycle of prayer to an individually chosen pattern of spirituality. There was less support for the work from the groups which had traditionally sponsored it, and the work itself was much more bound up with regular diocesan and parish affairs. In 1972 the St. Faith's funds became part of the books of the Diocese of Brandon, and the order lost its financial independence.[48] There was no lack of enthusiasm for the task of ministry or for the people of the region, but it was clear that the members of the order were being led in a different direction.

Bishop Wilkinson first advanced the idea that some of the messengers, those already in charge of parishes, should be ordained as deacons. While there was theological objection to women's ordination such that neither archdeacon would agree to present them, there was no such resistance among the people. They knew that these four messengers had already proven their worthiness to be clergy.

On 27 December 1979, the minutes of the final meeting of the Order of St. Faith's sadly record:

> Due to the apparent lack of interest, it was decided to recommend to the Bishop that the Order, as presently constituted, be disbanded, and that the present members be appraised for their approval.[49]

Present at that final meeting were the bishop; a messenger who had married a male priest, now a member under the new constitution, who was also present; a teacher in Moose Lake; a nurse who had become an associate member in 1964; and Kay Hill, priest. They were a small group, as at the beginning. But they are all still engaged in active ministry, and consider themselves bound by the rule and spirit of the order.

Their work was fundamental to the development of the mission churches of northern Manitoba in the marginal, non-status communities in particular, and their influence remains strong on two generations of Anglicans, particularly through their children's work. They provided a needed link with the outside world, a symbol of concern in isolation, and spiritual values laced with a hearty amount of pragmatism, common sense, and humour. While they were at first, and partly remained, a little piece of England, they were open to changing with the country they adopted. They did not seem to ask deep questions about the world they found, but they responded to its human needs as they immediately presented themselves. It was their firm belief that the church would be a civilizing influence, not as opposed to Native ways, but as opposed to the chaos of a society on the edge of change. They were, no doubt, organizers for the empire, but in the end they did not go home; they stayed and became pastors of a new country.

NOTES

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1. Quoted by Debbie Sproat, article in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, 11 April 1977.
2. Marguerita D. Fowler, *The Story of St. Faith's* (Westminster: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1950), 8-9.
3. Vera Fast, *Missionary on Wheels: Eva Hasell and the Sunday School Caravan Mission* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre), 1979.
4. Fowler, *Story*, 13.
5. Ibid., 8.
6. Archives of the Diocese of Brandon (ADB), Marguerita Fowler, Address to the Swan River Deanery Annual W.A. at Renwer, Manitoba, 1949.
7. Fowler, *Story*, 9.
8. ADB, Fowler, Report to the SPG, 23 January 1935.
9. Fowler, *Story*, 31.

10. Muriel Secretan, "The Beginning of St. Faith's," in Rosemary Prior and Beryl Carter, eds., *St. Faith's: Fifty Years of Service* (Brandon: n.p., 1978), 7.
11. Ibid., 6.
12. Ibid.
13. Prior and Carter, *St. Faith's*.
14. *The Company of Women Messengers*, a brochure of the Diocese of Derby (Sevenoaks, England: Reliance Press, n.d.). A copy annotated by Fowler is in ADB, which indicates the amendments proposed for the Canadian order. Further work in this field should include a detailed investigation of the English models for the Canadian work.
15. ADB, Records of the Bishop's Messengers of St. Faith's 1937-1959, (hereafter Records). Minutes of the messengers' conference of 3 August 1937.
16. ADB, Constitution of the Bishop's Messengers of St. Faith's, as amended 21 November 1968. I was unable to find a complete copy of an earlier date than this, although amendments to the original are recorded from time to time in the records and the minutes of the bishop's messengers of St. Faith's, 1961-1979 (hereafter Minutes).
17. Ibid., Records and Minutes.
18. Ibid., Records, Minutes of messengers' conference of 28 August 1942.
19. Ibid., Minutes of messengers' conferences of 4 August 1939, p. 25; of 27 August 1954, p. 154; and ibid., Minutes, 29 June 1967, p. 54.
20. Ibid., Letter with messengers' correspondence.
21. The constitution was changed on 30 December 1975, to allow for the admission of men (ADB, Minutes, p. 90), but none were actually admitted until 11 January 1977 (ibid., p. 92). The names of the men appear with the lists of all the members of the order at the beginning of the Records, pp. 3-7. At some point this list should be explored and analysed for geographical and sociological information on all the messengers.
22. Fowler, *Story*, 16.
23. ADB, Minutes of 3 August 1937; Ibid., Records, pp. 17-19.
24. Quoted in "Marguerita Fowler and the Order of St. Faith's," in *Lasting Impressions: Historical Sketches of the Swan River Valley* (Swan River, Manitoba: Swan Valley Historical Society, 1984), 249.
25. Eleanor Postans, "Happy Messenger Years," in Prior and Carter, *St. Faith's*, 64.
26. Peggy Jarret, "Bishop's Messengers in Pelly," in Prior and Carter, *St. Faith's*, 36-37.
27. ADB, Marguerita Fowler, Address to the Swan River Deanery Annual W.A. at Renwer, Manitoba, 1949.
28. Report of the work of the bishop's messengers in the Pelly Area — Summer, 1934 (no author, although it would have been from either Margaret Robertson or Peggy Parker, who were the messengers who began the work there).
29. Fowler, *Story*, 19.
30. ADB, *On Guard for the North*, pamphlet about the messengers by "M.M.P." No publisher or date is given, but the text mentions "it is only natural that Canada's war effort must have precedence over all other claims," thereby dating it to 1939-1945.
31. *A Stripe and Badge System for Juniors* (Toronto: Joint Committee on Children's Work, 1951); also *Junior Auxiliary: My Record Book*, signed by Agnes Cowley of The Pas Indian Band, Henry Budd Centre.
32. ADB, Fowler, Report to the SPG, 31 January 1941.
33. Ena Harrold, "Work on the Hudson Bay Railway," in Prior and Carter, *St. Faith's*, 31.
34. Fowler, *Story*, 27; ADB, Report to Synod, 1951 (no author stated; probably Muriel Hooper, who was then senior messenger).

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35. Fowler, *Story*, 25.
36. Ibid., 35; ADB, Report for 1935. Although the latter does not bear the name of an author, it is sure to have been Fowler. The destination of the report is not mentioned either but was probably the SPG. If it followed the usual pattern, the report would have been sent in January 1936, about work done in 1935.
37. ADB, Fowler, Report to the SPG, 24 March 1942.
38. Susie De Saumarez, "Happy Days Spent at Swan River and The Pas," in Prior and Carter, *St. Faith's*, 80.
39. ADB, Report for 1935.
40. Clare Adams, "Pioneer Work at Eriksdale," in Prior and Carter, *St. Faith's*, 46-47.
41. Fowler, *Story*, 32.
42. ADB, Clare Adams, Report of the work of the bishop's messengers in the Eriksdale Mission for October 1937 to October 1938.
43. Thelma Tanner, "Up to Date Glimpses of Work in the Birch River District," in Prior and Carter, *St. Faith's*, 67.
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The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970

Edited by Barry Ferguson

The essays collected here study the Anglican church and its missions in western Canada. They do so from a position that alters and challenges received scholarly opinion (both among explicitly church historians and decidedly secular historians) about the role of the Anglican church at Red River, within Manitoba society, among the Native and non-Native populations, and over the place of women in the church. These essays constitute a bridge between church and secular history concerning the Anglicans in western Canada. Like several other recent attempts to integrate the history of denominations and religions to Canadian society, this collection aims to explore whether and how the study of religious institutions and ideas can be a more obtrusive theme in the mainstream of secular history.

The essays in this collection lead to two broad conclusions about both western Canadian history and the role of the Anglican church in that history. First, the essays confirm that the Anglican church was a bearer of British culture and a subagent of the imperial mission in the west in several peculiar ways. Second, the essays show that church missions and parishes not only aimed to transform their parishioners but also to assist their adaptation and even defend them against civil institutions and secular forces.

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